VISIT…

Andrei Tarkovsky (left) with Vadim Iusov (bottom right)

BFI FILM CLASSICS

ANDREI RUBLEV

Андрей Рублёв

Robert Bird

bfi Publishing

First published in 2004 by the
BRITISH FILM INSTITUTE
21 Stephen Street, London W1T 1LN

Copyright © Robert Bird 2004

The British Film Institute
promotes greater understanding
and appreciation of, and
access to, film and moving image
culture in the UK.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN 1–84457–038–X

Series design by
Andrew Barron & Collis Clements Associates

Typeset in Fournier and Franklin Gothic by
D R Bungay Associates, Burghfield, Berks

Printed in Great Britain by Cromwell Press, Trowbridge, Wiltshire

CONTENTS

Acknowledgments *6*

Introduction *7*

1
From Rublev to 'Rublev' *12*

2
The *Via Crucis* of 'Andrei Rublev' *23*

3
The Shape of the Story *37*

4
The Elevating Gaze *65*

Notes *82*

Credits *85*

Bibliography *86*

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In the writing of this small book I have accrued a great number of debts to my colleagues and students at the University of Chicago. I should never have risked it without the encouragement and support of Yuri Tsivian. I should never have completed it without the sympathetic reading of Laura Lee, Stephen E. Lewis, and Nathan Preston. Only at Chicago could I have devoted an entire seminar to *Andrei Rublev*, and gratitude is owed to each and every student in my course in the autumn term of 2003. I would also like to thank Trond Trondsen of nostalghia.com who has continuously provided me with valuable information and images. I am grateful to Josh Bartos for technical assistance, and to Margarita Zaydman for an essential last-minute intervention.

Because of the incomplete and inaccurate translations of the English subtitles in all versions of the film, I have chosen to cite all dialogue in my own translation from the Russian. All other translations into English are also my own, unless otherwise noted.

For Farida

The trinity of monks: Daniil, Andrei and Kirill; Andrei Rublev as spectator

INTRODUCTION

> For us the story of Rublev is really the story of a 'taught' or imposed concept which burns up in the atmosphere of living reality to rise again from the ashes as a fresh and newly discovered truth.
>
> Andrei Tarkovsky[1]

Andrei Rublev is the most Russian of films, emblematic of what everyone finds so fascinating and so maddening in the way Russians do things. In the case of *Andrei Rublev* the challenges to our complacent preconceptions are extraordinarily strident. For over three hours, the main protagonist does little more than observe. One of his most drastic actions is to take a sixteen-year-long vow of silence, not an auspicious premise for a movie. Its religious subject matter and flaunting of narrative convention bathe *Andrei Rublev* and its director Andrei Tarkovsky in a rarefied aura of sanctity or of sanctimony. It is seen by its fervent admirers as the 'film of films', putting it in the same category as the book of books – the Bible. But how can a film which promises so much possibly succeed – while remaining a movie?

For its first viewers, by contrast, *Andrei Rublev* was an eagerly anticipated forbidden fruit and a courageous intervention in contemporary ideological discourse. Its miraculous aura stemmed less from the film itself than from the very improbability of its existence in the atheist USSR, and it was the stubborn controversy over its release which contributed most to Tarkovsky's image as a suffering artist. In 1970, after five long years of struggle with the authorities over *Andrei Rublev*, Tarkovsky began a diary which he entitled 'The Martyrology'. Here he recorded his personal trials and cases of divine intervention on behalf of his films, which enjoyed a charmed life even as the Soviet Union of the post-Stalin Thaw gradually froze over again under Leonid Brezhnev. Tarkovsky twice recalls the miraculous recovery of the only copy of the screenplay of *Andrei Rublev* which he had left in a taxi: 'Hours later the taxi driver saw me walking along the street, in the crowd, at the same spot, and he braked and handed me the folder. An unbelievable story.'[2]

While it has ended up deflecting attention from *Andrei Rublev* as a work of art, the film's aura of sanctity originated precisely in its aesthetic impact, and the controversy was caused more by Tarkovsky's startling manner of storytelling than by his ideological position. Tarkovsky's

formal innovations established him both as one of the most distinctive young artists in world cinema and as a major threat to the standard artistic discourse in the USSR. While Tarkovsky invariably displayed a pragmatic flexibility in his public statements about his films, the success of *Andrei Rublev* confirmed his fiercely independent approach to his art. For him, any compromise was a profanation. In this respect, *Andrei Rublev* was Tarkovsky's laboratory; what he discovered and developed here became the foundation for his subsequent films.

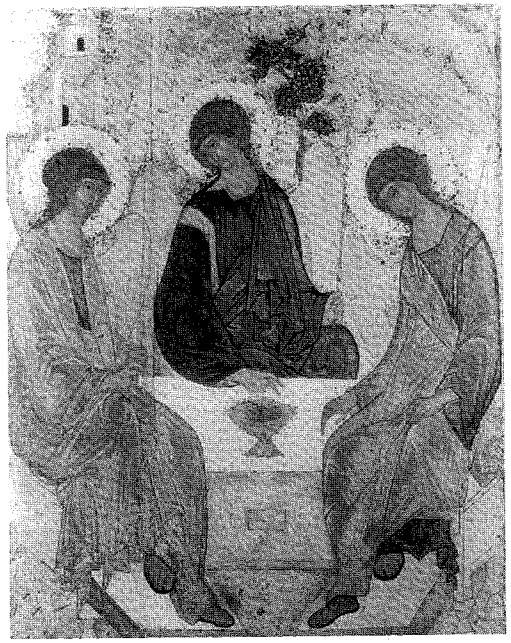
One major discovery – and another miraculous intervention – was the film's star Anatolii Solonitsyn (1934–82). In 1964 Solonitsyn was an inexperienced stage actor in distant Sverdlovsk (now Yekaterinburg) when he came across the screenplay of *Andrei Rublev* and exclaimed, 'This is a role I could give my life for!' Rushing to Moscow in the dead of winter, Solonitsyn underwent a battery of auditions and was cast in the title role instead of several more accomplished candidates.[3] In the end, Solonitsyn essentially did give his life for the role insofar as he would always be associated with Rublev and Tarkovsky. He was even used as a model for the statue of Rublev which graces the Rublev Museum in Moscow. He appeared in all of Tarkovsky's subsequent projects up to the director's emigration, including a 1977 stage production of *Hamlet*. Even in death they were bound; Solonitsyn's death in 1982 of lung cancer was a premonition of Tarkovsky's own succumbing to the same disease four years later.

Another decisive discovery in *Andrei Rublev* was the cinematic potential of the Orthodox icon, which would be a mainstay of Tarkovsky's films right up to the last one, *The Sacrifice* (1986). One of the 'synchronicities' of Solonitsyn's casting was his physical similarity to the image of Christ in Rublev's icon, *Saviour in the Wood*. The three angels in Rublev's *The Old Testament Trinity* provided the pattern for the mysteriously inseparable threesomes in *Andrei Rublev* and Tarkovsky's later films, *Solaris* (1972) and *Stalker* (1979).

Rublev's *Trinity* is deceptively simple and transparent. The three figures bow to each other in graceful acknowledgment of their shared majesty. Theologians tell us that the angels (based on Genesis 18) prefigure the revelation of the triune God in the New Testament, united in love because their shared nature *is* love. Artists tell us that space itself, bending obediently around the figures, confirms them as the centre of creation and draws the viewer into their world. Historians treasure Rublev's image as the jewel which glistened amidst the embers of Russia's historical bonfire and expressed the nation's silent spiritual

vision. Tarkovsky took inspiration from the icon in all of these respects: in the film's thematic structure, in its visual composition, and also in his aspiration to give voice to a silenced culture. The central subject of Tarkovsky's camera is not the threesome of monks, nor even Andrei Rublev himself, but rather the elusive force which holds their world together: compassion, care, vision ...

In an essay written during the production of *Andrei Rublev*, Tarkovsky coined the term 'imprinted time' for the invisible medium which unites his films in lieu of a clear linear narrative. I shall return later to his elusive conception of film, but for now it might be taken simply as a description of how the film makes it possible to *live* for a short while on the pensive rhythms of his world, blinded by its snows and rains, numbed by the grief which weighs heavy even in its light-hearted moments. Tarkovsky's gracefully tracking camera immerses the viewer in the world of his creation unconditionally, without ironic distance, without the interpretive aid of a clear narrative commentary or reliable characterisation. This is not false piety, rather it is raw intensity. It is a black-and-white intensity which explodes into colour in the film's finale, a



Andrei Rublev, *The Old Testament Trinity* (c. 1420), Tretyakov Gallery (Moscow)

celebration of Rublev's icons which consummates the halting narrative, retrospectively revealing its underlying logic and transforming its deep textures into glorious surfaces. However, the icon display also suspends the complex weave of dialogue, music and ambient sound in a pious supplication. In effect, it dissolves the film's heavy temporality in its eternal patterns, as if Tarkovsky were ceding authorship to St Andrei Rublev. Several of Tarkovsky's subsequent films end in a similar confusion of temporal and spatial planes, a feature which irks some viewers as an 'easy transcendence' of the characters' otherwise tortuous progression across the dolorous earth. However, by extending his searching gaze into the transcendent plane, Tarkovsky is also raising the stakes of his aesthetic gamble. Instead of the certainty of faith, he contemplates the possibility that there can be no true ending, possibly no true story at all, under the weight of time.

Tarkovsky's sparse landscapes, silent protagonists, and discontinuous narrative, punctuated by mysterious vignettes and transformations, make for an uncompromisingly difficult film which seems to repel any attempt at viewer 'identification'. In this multidimensional world, each life has its own truth. The characters in *Andrei Rublev* represent various types of spirituality, from the stern but spineless intellectualism of Kirill (brilliantly played by Ivan Lapikov in a vastly underrated performance) to the pagan revellers' exuberant carnality, to Rublev's humanist questioning. Andrei's point of view is privileged only insofar as he remains a spectator alongside the viewer, immune to the allure of action. We are never quite sure what he sees and how he sees it, and so we can neither be sure that we are seeing properly either. Nonetheless we feel an almost ethical imperative to *keep watching*. Perhaps this is the key to Tarkovsky's personal aura: that he encouraged beaten and distracted people to *look*, both at the world outside and at their inner selves. It reminds us of the original meaning of the word 'martyr', the one Tarkovsky may really have had in mind when he began his diary: 'witness'. Tarkovsky's films bear witness to his world and posit the spectator also as *witness*.

Tarkovsky boasted of the way his films educate their viewers. After the eventual release of *Andrei Rublev* in the USSR, he was heartened by numerous telephone calls and letters: 'Of course audiences understand the film perfectly well, as I knew they would'.[4] One doubts the literal truth of this statement. Apart from its inherent difficulties, appreciation of *Andrei Rublev* has been handicapped by the form in which it has reached viewers, especially outside Russia. Tarkovsky's film has been repeatedly mutilated under aesthetic, ideological, and commercial

pressures, to the point that no two copies are the same. Furthermore, the incomplete and indistinct subtitles on English-language versions have not only made the film harder to follow, they risk making Tarkovsky's radical aesthetic seem simply incoherent. The situation is better now than it has been, with both major versions available on DVD with improved subtitles, but it is still far from ideal.

The shock of its aesthetic difficulty has inclined viewers from across the ideological spectrum to reduce *Andrei Rublev* to a tidy 'message', invariably ignoring the multivalent textures of the film. This was not surprising in the Soviet Union, which ideologised all discourse, whether artistic, religious or personal. Moreover, Tarkovsky never shirked from explaining what his film 'meant', but his pronouncements were often tailored to the needs of the moment. For official Soviet outlets, Tarkovsky stressed the epic qualities of the film, which presents a panorama of the nation at a crucial historical moment. Elsewhere, Tarkovsky stressed the film's retrieval of traditional Russian art, society and religion. However, *Andrei Rublev* has proven disconcerting to those who would seek in it a salve for wounded national pride. While impressed by Tarkovsky's artistic independence, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn found that Tarkovsky contaminated Holy Russia with Sovietisms (such as Boriska, the Stakhanovite bellfounder) and 'besmirched' Rublev's faith by having him wander around spouting 'humanistic platitudes'. Solzhenitsyn derisively summarised the film's sentiment as follows: 'what a savage, cruel land is this eternal Russia, and how base are its instincts'.[5] Such criticism highlights *Andrei Rublev*'s controversial image of Russia and Russian spirituality; however it entirely obscures the fact that *Andrei Rublev* is a breathtaking movie before it is anything else and that its only obligation is to its own artistic integrity.

Although I take the icon itself as a central component in Tarkovsky's innovative cinema aesthetic, I have been wary of conflating Tarkovsky's film with the icon. This would sacralise a movie which takes pains to retain a universal narrative shape. The key issue is not why the film is so uneventful; rather it is why Tarkovsky used a story at all before showing Rublev's images. In seeking to recover *Andrei Rublev* as a work of art, I take my cue from Tarkovsky's description of the film which I quoted above: the film's narrative has to burn up in the viewer's eye before it yields its own inner truth on the threshold of the icon.

1

FROM RUBLEV TO 'RUBLEV'

Making a biographical film on an historical personage imposes certain expectations on the narrative, such as a linear progression from childhood to death and a focus on the person's remarkable achievements. In one of his first statements about *Andrei Rublev*, Tarkovsky boldly stated his intention to flaunt these conventions and seek a new type of narrative:

> We would like to depart from traditional dramaturgy with its canonical completedness and with its formal and logical schematism, which so often prevents the demonstration of life's complexity and fullness. After all, what is the dialectic of the personality? Phenomena which a man encounters or in which he participates become part of the man himself, a part of his sense of life, a part of his character. [...] We underestimate the power of the screen image's emotional charge. In cinema it is necessary not to explain, but to act upon the viewer's feelings, and the emotion which is awoken is what provokes thought.[6]

Acting on viewers' feelings in this way required a complex attitude towards history:

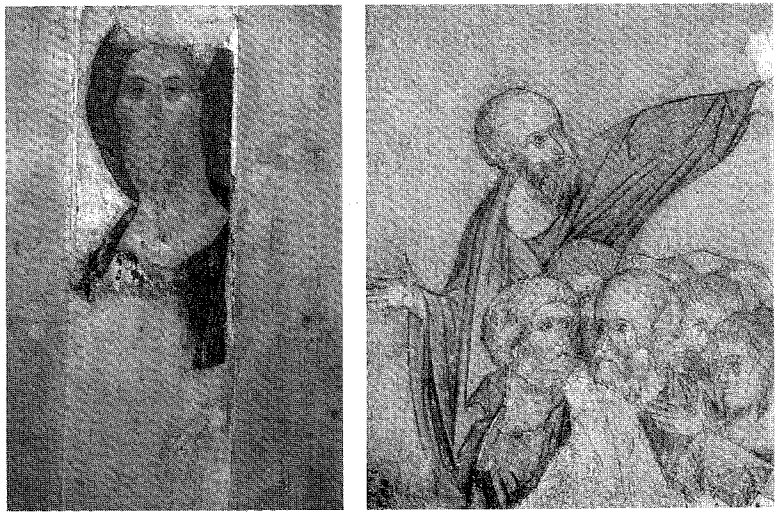
> We are not interested in a stylisation of the epoch in costumes, furnishings and the characters' conversational speech. We want our film to be contemporary not only in the completely contemporary resonance of its main issue. Historical accessories must not fragment the viewers' attention or try to persuade them that the action is taking place precisely in the fifteenth century. The neutrality of interiors and of costumes (together with their utter authenticity), the landscape and contemporary speech: all of this will help us to speak of what is most important without getting distracted.[7]

Conscious of the inevitable reductionism of fictional narrative, Tarkovsky takes care to create a world which both characters and viewers can *inhabit*. This neutrality, or even emptiness, is precisely what allows the film to engage with topical issues and historiographical clichés while retaining the stamp of lived authenticity.

Ostensibly *Andrei Rublev* is the story of Russia's most renowned icon painter, who died in 1430 and is conjectured to have been born

between 1360 and 1370. Only a single icon, *The Old Testament Trinity*, can be attributed to Rublev with certainty; its distinctive style has in turn served as the basis for numerous other attributions of icons, frescoes, and miniatures. Sparse contemporary sources record only that Andrei Rublev (pronounced and sometimes written 'Rublyov') collaborated in the decoration of several churches in the early 1400s: the Cathedral of the Annunciation in the Moscow Kremlin (spring 1405), the Cathedral of the Dormition in the city of Vladimir (begun 25 May 1408), the new cathedral at Andronikov Monastery to the southeast of Moscow (*c.* 1410s), and the Trinity Cathedral of the Trinity-St Sergius Monastery to the northeast of Moscow (*c.* 1420s). Art historians have also detected Rublev's style in the icons of a church in Zvenigorod, to the west of Moscow, including the renowned *Saviour in the Wood*; these were recovered from a dilapidated shed in 1918. The episodes of Tarkovsky's narrative correspond roughly to these events, although his Rublev is never actually shown at work and Rublev's most amply documented commission at the Trinity Monastery, when he probably created his famous *Trinity*, features only as a promise at the end of the film.

The shape of *Andrei Rublev* is closely attuned to that of early Russia. By the seventh century the territory was inhabited by a loose group of East Slavonic tribes whose economic activity was centred on the system of waterways which pass from the northern forests to the southern steppes,



Andrei Rublev, *Saviour* of Zvenigorod deesis row (*c* 1410), Tretyakov Gallery (Moscow); *Apostles*, detail of *The Last Judgement* (1408), Dormition Cathedral (Vladimir)

'from the Vikings to the Greeks'. The introduction of Christianity in 988 bonded the tribes into an internationally recognised, Christian state based in Kiev and known as Rus'. Most importantly, Christian belief brought the Bible, the liturgy, and other religious texts in the closely related Church Slavonic language. This language, this script and these texts comprised the cultural patrimony of Rus', inviolably linking all intellectual culture to the Church. The Church's unifying role was reinforced when Mongol–Tatar invaders exploited divisions among the hereditary princes to achieve the almost total subjugation of the Russian lands in the early thirteenth century. Power gradually shifted to the cities in the northern forests: Novgorod (a semi-democratic city-state which remained free of Mongol–Tatar domination), Vladimir, and then Moscow. All of this history is reflected to some degree in *Andrei Rublev*, from the divisive politics of the princes and the vagaries of Mongol–Tatar occupation, to the vital economic role of the river system. Only the pagan rites in the film are clearly anachronistic, coming after four centuries of official Christianity.

Rublev's life coincided with the beginning of the end of Mongol–Tatar domination and the rise of the modern Russian state, in which the upstart city of Moscow was asserting its primacy among its peers. Vladimir, the previous seat of the Russian Grand Prince and metropolitan (top hierarch of the Russian Orthodox Church at the time), lost its dominance to Moscow around 1364. In 1380, the Grand Prince of Moscow Dmitrii Donskoi led the first victory of Russians over the Mongol–Tatar forces at the Battle of Kulikovo Field. Thus, in *Andrei Rublev*, the Grand Prince is based in Moscow, where he commissions the decoration of Annunciation Cathedral, but he also takes care to show his patronage of Vladimir's older churches and to replace his burnt, wooden palace with a stone edifice more becoming to the leader of a burgeoning European power. The conflict between the two princes in the film bears a similarity to the

14 Early Muscovite Russia, *c.* 1400

rivalry between the sons of Dmitrii Donskoi, Princes Vasilii of Moscow and Iurii of Zvenigorod. While the details of Tarkovsky's history are not always precise, such rivalries are a recurring motif in the history of Russian city-states, whose princes were forever engaged in musical chairs and mutual destruction.

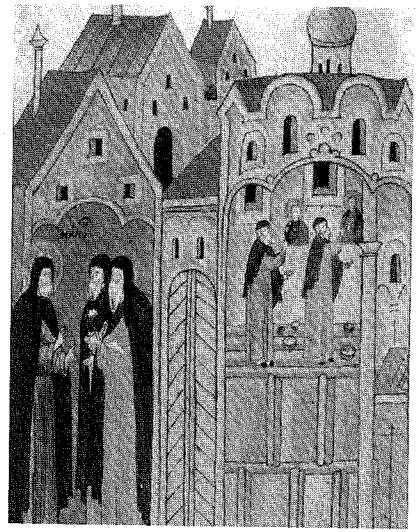
The 'gathering of the Russian lands' around Moscow found a spiritual patron in St Sergius of Radonezh (d. 1392). Inspired by a childhood vision, St Sergius became a hermit in the impenetrable Russian forests, but his charismatic presence attracted numerous monks and he founded the Trinity Monastery on the communal or cenobitic model. Many of St Sergius' disciples founded monasteries on the same model in the Russian north, making him the father of northern Russian monasticism. One such disciple was Andronik (d. 1374), who greatly expanded the monastery which became known by his name, where Andrei Rublev later lived and worked. St Sergius also took an active part in Muscovite politics; in 1380 he gave his blessing to Grand Prince Dmitrii before the landmark Battle of Kulikovo Field. St Sergius is today regarded as the main conduit of Byzantine monastic spirituality in early Muscovite Russia, the heir to Byzantine hesychasm (from the Greek word for silence, *hesyché*). Hesychast theology, as elaborated by St Gregory Palamas (1296–1359), held that the divine essence was totally transcendent and unknowable, but that the world was suffused with divine energies such as the light seen by the apostles during Christ's Transfiguration (Mt 17: 1–13). As monks, the hesychasts focused on the acquisition of divine energies through prayer and showed little or no interest in aesthetics. However, the hesychast teaching on the communicability of divine energies inspired contemporaries, who saw the word and the image as media of grace. For instance, Epiphanius the Most-Wise (d. *c.* 1420) perfected a literary style known as 'word-weaving', which was marked by an intense attention to verbal textures. In *Andrei Rublev*, Kirill cites Epiphanius' alleged description of St Sergius' moral virtue, 'simplicity without ostentation', precisely as an aesthetic credo.

Whether due to hesychasm or by sheer coincidence, the time of St Sergius witnessed the first blossoming of Muscovite icon painting. The decoration of the cathedral at Trinity Monastery under St Sergius' successor Nikon became an almost legendary event in the history of Russian spirituality. This is how one anonymous chronicler described it:

> the most venerable [Nikon] was overcome with a great wish, and with faith; remaining continuously in this state, he desired to see with his

> own eyes the church completed and decorated; so he quickly gathered painters, very great men, superior to all others, and perfect in virtue, Daniil by name and Andrei his spiritual brother, and some others with them; and they did the job quickly, as they foresaw in their spirit the death of these spiritual fathers, which would follow soon upon the completion of the task. But since God was helping to complete the venerable one's task, they devoted themselves to it assiduously and beautified the church with the most diverse paintings, which to this day are capable of astounding viewers. Leaving their final handiwork as a memorial to themselves, the venerable ones remained a short while before the humble Andrei left this life and went to the Lord first, and then his spiritual brother Daniil the most pious, who had lived well with God's help and who piously accepted a good end in old age. When Daniil was preparing to separate himself from his bodily union, he saw his beloved Andrei, who had preceded him in death, and called out to him in joy. When Daniil saw Andrei, whom he loved, he was filled with great joy and confessed the coming of his spiritual brother to the monks who stood before him, and thus in joy he gave up his spirit to the Lord.[8]

This unusually detailed passage depicts Rublev and Daniil the Monk (or 'the Black', so-called for his monastic cassock) as spiritual brothers, perfect in virtue and superior in artistic ability. In other extant chronicle passages, Rublev is likewise mentioned after his collaborators: Theophanes the Greek, Prokhor of Gorodets, and Abbot Alexander of Andronikov Monastery. About a century later, the Church polemicist Joseph of Volokolamsk (1439–1515) mentioned 'the famous icon painters Daniil and his pupil Andrei' as men who had only virtue and were only concerned 'to be worthy of God's grace, only to succeed to divine love, [...] and always to elevate their mind and thought to the immaterial and divine light, raising their sensible eye to the eternally painted



Andrei Rublev and Daniil the Monk in a sixteenth-century manuscript of St Sergius' *Life*

images of Christ Our Lord and His Most-Pure Mother and all the saints'.[9] However, it was Rublev's name alone which became the standard for traditional Moscow-school icon painting. In 1551, in the face of growing Western influence, the Russian church mandated that icons be painted 'from the ancient standards, as Greek icon painters painted and as Andrei Rublev painted along with other famous icon painters'. Rublev's exclusive reputation was confirmed in 1988, when he was canonised as a saint on the occasion of the millennium of Christianity in Russia. Today, one can find Rublev mentioned as Russia's premier theologian in the medieval period, which underscores the experiential and visual nature of Russian spirituality.

Between 1551 and the twentieth century, Rublev's work and Russian icon-painting generally, fell into oblivion. While Rublev's name was sometimes used as a generic tag for icons painted 'in the olden style', his *Trinity* had long since been over-painted and enclosed in a silver covering (as were most valued icons in this period). Beginning in about 1900, with the development of new historical and restoration methods, medieval icons gradually became a central factor in the cultural consciousness of modern Russia, with sometimes surprising results. The poem 'Andrei Rublev' by modernist Nikolai Gumilev (1886–1921) was one of the first to mention him, but it uses Rublev's name only as a generic link between art and spirituality and betrays no first hand knowledge of Rublev's work. The key factor in the rediscovery of the icon and, by extension, of Rublev, was the theological aesthetics of Pavel Florensky (1882–1937), a polymath scientist, philosopher and priest who taught at the Moscow Theological Academy in the Trinity-St Sergius Monastery, where Rublev had created his masterpiece five centuries earlier. Florensky penned a series of essays on the icon immediately following the revolution of 1917. Some of his work was part of the process of converting the Trinity-St Sergius Monastery into a museum, which saved many of its cultural riches from the Soviet government's anti-religious campaign. On 11 April 1919, Soviet officials presided over the desecration of the relics of St Sergius, an event that was captured on film by the 'cine-chronicler' Dziga Vertov. Fearing for the relics, Florensky took part in a plot to hide St Sergius' skull in the garden of a local house; it was restored to the sarcophagus only after the official reinstatement of the monastery in 1946. Under Stalin, the ideological emphasis shifted from Marxism (and atheism) to official patriotism, and by the mid-1930s some pre-communist personages had been restored to the cultural pantheon, as illustrated by Vladimir Petrov's 1937 epic, *Peter*

the Great or Sergei Eisenstein's 1938 film, *Alexander Nevsky*. In this context Rublev, whose work had only recently been recovered, was also appropriated for patriotic purposes. One example of this was the mention of Rublev in a 1941 poem by Arsenii Tarkovsky, the director's father, entitled 'My Rus, my Russia, Home, Earth and Mother!' In 1943, in a bid for national unity, Stalin restored the Church as a national institution, and postwar Soviet culture witnessed a further legitimisation of religious personages as national heroes who had contributed to the rise of the unified Russian state. Thus in the 1950s, Andrei Rublev was suddenly recognised as the outstanding Russian artist, thinker and humanist of so-called 'Russian Renaissance' (or, in an uncharacteristic display of modesty, 'pre-Renaissance'). This process continued even under Nikita Khrushchev, whose liberalising economic and cultural policies (known as 'the Thaw') were accompanied by renewed church closures. In 1960, on the occasion of the 600th anniversary of Andrei Rublev's presumed birthdate, the Soviet authorities sponsored a broad campaign including exhibitions, catalogues and learned studies. The festivities culminated in the inauguration of the Andrei Rublev Museum of Old Russian Art at the former Andronikov Monastery. Rublev also attracted the interest of a budding nationalist movement, as witnessed by nationalist painter Il'ia Glazunov's kitschy portraits of Rublev or Vladimir Soloukhin's 1966 volume, *Letters from the Russian Museum*.

Tarkovsky's Rublev bears traces of this postwar idealisation, for instance in his humanistic concern not to 'scare' people with the Last Judgement and in his defence of the Russian nation against Theophanes' derision. Tarkovsky freely borrowed elements from Vladimir Pribytkov's rabidly anti-clerical 'biography' of Rublev, including much of the episode 'The Last Judgement' and the character of Patrikei.[10] On the other hand, Tarkovsky publicly took issue with Glazunov's vision of Rublev, and the artist repaid him in kind by condemning Tarkovsky's film as a defamation of the Russian people: 'Andrei Rublev was a great philosopher, and not some neurasthenic character like in Antonioni's films', Glazunov contended.[11] All in all, the broad cultural dialogue about Rublev's art made him a safe way to engage spiritual concerns under the guise of patriotic myth-making. *Andrei Rublev* became the most significant single event in the constant re-interpretation of Rublev precisely because its image of Rublev was too protean for easy ideological appropriation.

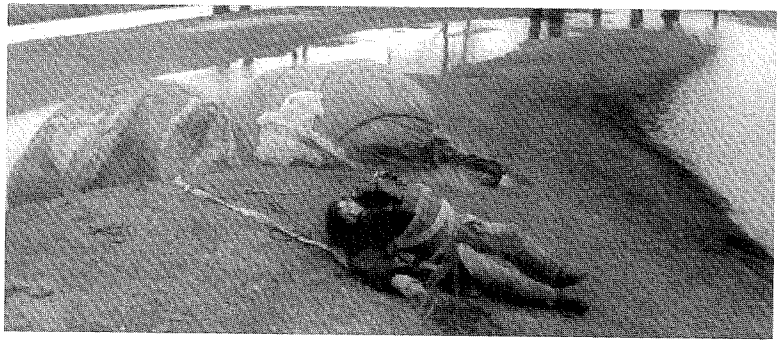
The subtlety of Tarkovsky's intervention in the Rublev debates is best illustrated by the film's Prologue, in which the peasant Efim escapes superstitious villagers and launches into flight on a home-stitched

balloon, only to crash into a riverbank. This puzzling episode is related to the curious legend of Kriakutnyi, who on the basis of a forged chronicle entry, was reputed to have made the first human flight in the Russian town of Riazan in 1731, by making 'a kind of big ball, [which he] filled with dirty and smelly smoke, made a hook which he sat in, and an evil power lifted him over the birch tree, then smashed him against the bell-tower, but he clutched onto the bell-rope and remained alive'.[12] The legend of Kriakutnyi had surfaced periodically in Russian culture, for instance in Iurii Tarich's 1926 film, *Wings of a Serf*. However it enjoyed its heyday in the early years of the Cold War, when in addition to the arms race and the space race the Soviets claimed all number of inventions and discoveries for their own. In 1956, just in time for the Sputnik, the USSR celebrated the 225th anniversary of Kriakutnyi's flight by releasing a stamp showing a spherical balloon rising over an ensemble of traditional wooden architecture. Nationalists also appropriated Kriakutnyi as an image of Russian ingenuity; in 1964, Il'ia Glazunov painted his perfunctory version of the legend, *The Russian Icarus*.

In the screenplays of the film Tarkovsky's Efim was also equipped with wings 'like an angel',[13] which linked him to Tarich's cinematic precedent. It was perhaps the painting by his nemesis Glazunov which persuaded Tarkovsky to replace the wings with a balloon, although he described the reasons as purely aesthetic: 'We spent a long time working out how to destroy the plastic symbol on which the episode was built, and we concluded that the root of the trouble lay in the wings. In order to dispel the overtones of Icarus we decided on a hot-air balloon.'[14] However, to avoid the smug quaintness of the official portrayals, Tarkovsky stressed the scene's material immediacy: 'This is a concrete happening, a human catastrophe, observed by onlookers just as if now, as we watched, someone were to dash out for some reason in front of a car and end up lying there, crushed on the asphalt'.[15] He also leaves open the question of Efim's fate. In sum, Tarkovsky's free adaptation of the legend undermines its historical truth while intensifying its sense of immediate realism. This exemplifies Tarkovsky's overall treatment of historical clichés, especially those concerning Andrei Rublev's image in Russian culture.

The Prologue also polemicised with the popular poet Andrei Voznesensky, whose brash new voice helped to define the era of the Thaw and Sputnik. Maia Turovskaia has noted the importance for *Andrei Rublev* of Voznesensky's poem 'Craftsmen ('Mastera', 1958), which depicts medieval Russian artists as overcoming political and religious tyranny: 'Art was resurrected / From executions and torture', Voznesensky

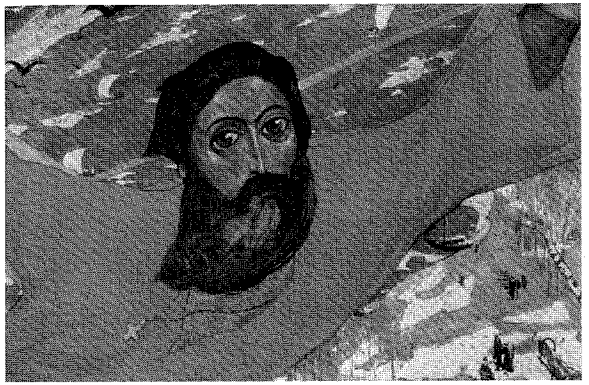
Efim's balloon



Efim's crash

Wings of a Serf by Iurii Tarich (1926)

Soviet postage stamp celebrating the 225th anniversary of Kriakutnyi's legendary flight (1956)



Il'ia Glazunov, *The Russian Icarus* (1964)

Nikolai Glazkov's parody of Andrei Voznesensky (1962)

wrote.[16] Voznesensky's ground-breaking volume, *Antiworlds* (Antimiry, 1964) also contains a couple of poems which bring Rublev explicitly into contemporary contexts. In 'Rublev Highway' ('Rublevskoe shosse') he compares young lovers on motorcycles to 'Rublev's angels' whose partners 'sparkle like wings behind their backs' as on a (non-existent) 'fresco of the Annunciation'.[17] In another poem, Voznesensky even conscripts Rublev to the cause of communism:

> Names and numbers disappear.
> Genius changes its clothes.
> Genius is the spirit of the nation.
> In this sense,
> Andrei Rublev was Lenin.[18]

Tarkovsky's response to Voznesensky's syncretism was to give the role of Efim to the fringe poet Nikolai Glazkov. Glazkov had parodied Voznesensky in a 1962 ditty, 'A Conversation with a Monk' ('Razgovor s monakhom'), which ends with a tongue-in-cheek exhortation to the monk to forget the monastery and become a poet. In his book the poem is illustrated by a monk in a kind of jet-fighter or spaceship.[19] By casting Glazkov as Efim and stressing the hand-made materiality of the balloon, Tarkovsky both echoes Voznesensky's syncretistic dreaming and brings it down to earth.

The Prologue clearly demonstrates Tarkovsky's basic method: a fragmented narrative, long takes joined by jarringly discontinuous editing and the reduction of the *mise en scène* to its barest components, especially the four primal elements of water, earth, fire, and air. The palpable, familiar texture of this distant, historical world communicates the ambivalence of life itself and neutralises historical clichés. This simplification elevates the balloon to a global symbol (it reappears in Tarkovsky's 1974 film, *The Mirror* and Nikita Mikhalkov's 1995 *Burnt by the Sun*), but what it symbolises is most of all the fragility of life and of its own meaning. Like its human creators, the balloon harnesses the vital breath only to release it back into the atmosphere in silent expiration. The image captures Tarkovsky's particular genius for communicating the most complex human experiences and intricate historical interpretations less through narrative sequence than through the vulnerable, elusive presence of life on-screen.

2

THE *VIA CRUCIS* OF 'ANDREI RUBLEV'

Soon after the Rublev celebrations of 1960, three young men could be seen walking around a Moscow park. One, the young actor Vasilii Livanov (known for his portrayal of Sherlock Holmes in the Soviet screen adaptations of Conan Doyle) shared with the others his idea for making a film on the life of Andrei Rublev, with himself in the starring role. Livanov became busy with other projects (there is a hint of bitterness about his exclusion from *Andrei Rublev*), but his two friends Andrei Tarkovsky and Andrei (or Andron) Mikhalkov-Konchalovsky quickly concluded a deal with the Mosfilm Studios for a screenplay, which they submitted at the close of 1962. The project's early titles were 'Beginnings and Ways' and 'The Passion According to Andrei'. The former title calls to mind Dostoevsky's pessimistic comment: 'We know only the daily flow of the things we see, and this only on the surface; but the ends and beginnings are things that, for human beings, still lie in the realm of the fantastic'.[20] The latter title, which was subsequently attached to the 1966 version of the film, could be taken as self-referential (both screenwriters were Andrei, after all), as an allusion to the *St Matthew Passion* by Tarkovsky's favourite composer J. S. Bach, or else as a sign of the film's intended status as scripture or national epic (legend holds that Russia was visited by Christ's disciple, St Andrew). However, these early titles, both of which suggest an unusual narrative structure, soon ceded to the simple 'Andrei Rublev', which is how the film figures in most contemporary documentation and discussion from 1963 on, and which seems to augur a more conventional type of narrative.[21]

In 1962, Tarkovsky was a recent graduate of the Moscow film institute, VGIK, where Konchalovsky was still completing his studies.[22] After collaborating on the screenplay of Tarkovsky's final student project, *The Steamroller and the Violin*, they worked together on the screenplay for his first full-length feature at Mosfilm, *Ivan's Childhood*, in which Konchalovsky also acted. Their prospects at Mosfilm improved after *Ivan's Childhood* and Konchalovsky's student film, *The Boy and the Dove* won prizes at Venice in 1962. Both at home and abroad, Tarkovsky was the Sputnik on the firmament of Soviet cinema. He was encouraged to take up the nomenclature's prized project, a film based on Leonid Leonov's 1961 screenplay, *The Escape of Mr McKinley*. However, in a series of interviews and essays, Tarkovsky tirelessly

plugged the selling-points of *Andrei Rublev*: its treatment of artists' social responsibility and its innovative narrative structure. In an early interview in the newspaper of the Writers' Union, Tarkovsky stressed the film's topicality:

> I link my creative plans to the question of the artist's relationship to the nation and his time, where the artist does not exist in isolation, but is the conscience of society, the pinnacle of its imagination, and the mouthpiece of its talent. These issues are the basis of the screenplay *The Passion According to Andrei* which I am currently writing together with Andrei Konchalovsky.
>
> This screenplay tells of the life of the genius Russian artist, Andrei Rublev, whose memorialisation was urged by Vladimir Lenin in his first decrees.
>
> The problems of the Russian renaissance, about which we unfortunately know practically nothing, help us to trace the civic profile of this artist and isolate the significant point at which several planes coincide: time, history, the ethical ideal, the artist, and the nation. Our film about Andrei Rublev will tell of the impossibility of creating art outside of the nation's aspirations, of the artist's attempts to express its soul and character, and of the way that an artist's character depends upon his historical situation. The question of the artist's place in the life of the nation seems to us one of the most contemporary and important questions on the cusp of our future.[23]

Elsewhere, Tarkovsky dwelled more on the film's innovative narrative structure:

> Our prize [for *Ivan's Childhood*] obliges. And of course I want to make the next film better. Right now Andrei Konchalovsky and I are working on the screenplay of a new film, *Andrei Rublev*. To some degree this continues our line of poetic cinema, which we began with *Ivan's Childhood*. I think this picture will help us to depart from literary discourse, which is still very strong in our cinema. And although the great artist Rublev lived in the fifteenth century, our cine-story about him should be contemporary. After all the problem of talent, the question of the artist and the nation are not obsolete in our own day. In this work we want to reject a unified plot and narrative. We want the viewer to see Rublev with 'today's eyes'.[24]

Tarkovsky is careful to avoid any mention of religion, but it was still risky for him to propose a film about a monk, especially a film which has foresworn not only a clear ideological viewpoint but even 'a unified plot and narrative'.

Tarkovsky's unshakeable self-belief and untiring promotion of the project were not sufficient to win *Andrei Rublev* immediate approval from Mosfilm. There is disagreement over Konchalovsky's involvement in the first version of the screenplay (the basis of the English translation), but the two certainly collaborated closely on the draft which Mosfilm eventually accepted at the close of 1963.[25] In typical fashion, the issue was addressed at the highest levels of the Soviet government. Cognisant of the inevitable difficulties which lay ahead for this controversial project, a sympathetic official at the ideological section of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party arranged for the screenplay to be published in the official film journal, *Iskusstvo kino* in the spring of 1964.[26] In mid-1964, *Andrei Rublev* was approved for production as a two-part film with a budget of one million roubles. This amount, though large, was insufficient for the entire screenplay and necessitated ever-increasing cuts in the shooting script, although Tarkovsky caused an administrative flap by incurring a large budget overrun. The inevitable comparison is with Sergei Bondarchuk's *War and Peace*, which was allocated a budget of around eight million roubles at about the same time. There are myriad connections between the two Mosfilm productions, both of which featured symphonic scores by the young composer, Viacheslav Ovchinnikov. Most importantly, Tarkovsky's experimental storytelling is firmly in the Tolstoyan tradition of sprawling, self-conscious narratives.[27] However, the contrast in the films' official status eventually grew into open warfare between the directors after Tarkovsky accused Bondarchuk of manoeuvring against him on the jury of the Cannes Film Festival. For his part, Bondarchuk took Tarkovsky's brash originality as a mortal threat to his conventional brand of costume drama.

Tarkovsky's prickly temperament was both a constant hindrance to his career and a main condition of his success. He strove to control everything, from the tiniest detail in the *mise en scène* to the weather conditions. The difficulty of such a meticulous approach was multiplied by his characteristic, long-duration tracking shots, which required immaculate choreography in order to produce the necessary 'rhythm' while avoiding any anachronistic features in the landscape and conserving precious film stock.[28] His producer, Tamara Ogorodnikova (who plays Christ's mother in the crucifixion scene) tells how Tarkovsky

ordered a field ploughed in order to darken the background outside the hut in episode one, and how he insisted the hundreds of stacked aspen logs in the yard of Andronikov Monastery be replaced by birch.[29] He often refused to explain to his collaborators the reasons for various capricious instructions, and was capable of terrorising his actors (especially young Nikolai Burliaev) in order to create the requisite mood.

Both screenwriters have stressed their diligent study of a 'mountain' of historical documentation and scholarship on the period; as an added layer of security Mosfilm hired historical consultants, who Tarkovsky claims found nothing objectionable in the screenplay.[30] He may have exaggerated the amount of work they did. For instance, Kirill's learned quotations from Konstantin Kostenecki and Epiphanius the Most-Wise are both lifted from a popular study by Soviet academician, D. S. Likhachev.[31] Moreover, both are spurious; the Kostenecki quotation is Likhachev's wilful paraphrase, while the other one appears not in Epiphanius' *Life* of St Sergius (which itself postdates the scene in the film by several years), but in a later reworking by Pachomius the Serb. Of course, such details are unimportant. In fact, Tarkovsky attributes the film's aura of authenticity precisely to his refusal to create stylised illusions:

> [O]ne of the aims of our work was to reconstruct for a modern audience the real world of the fifteenth century, that is, to present that world in such as way that costume, speech, life-style and architecture would not give any sense of being relic or of antiquarian rarity. In order to achieve the truth of direct observation, what one might almost term physiological truth, we had to move away from the truth of archaeology and ethnography.[32]

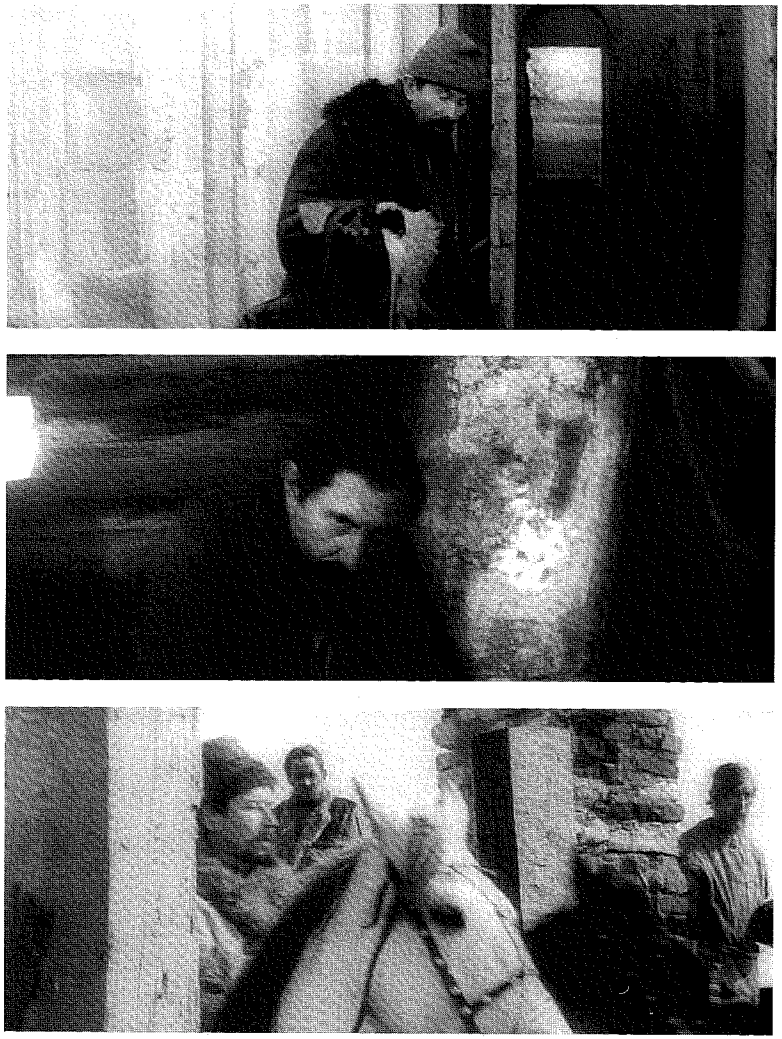
The colour of the fields and wood piles was crucial, given the need to reduce Rublev's world to basic elements with palpable and familiar textures without trying to date anything backwards in time.

Tarkovsky's reluctance to force entry into the alien historical epoch is reflected in many discontinuities in the film. Tarkovsky used a kind of neutral–contemporary Russian dialogue. Most of the markedly modern words (e.g. 'talent' [*talant*]) and archaic language (e.g. forms of Church Slavonic) are spoken by Kirill and are part and parcel of his hysterical self-stylisation; here history and hysteria truly coincide. A related decision was the use of black and white for the narrative and colour for the Epilogue displaying Rublev's icons. In an interview,

Tarkovsky claimed that black and white communicated reality, while colour imbued everything with an aura of fictionality.[33] This curious reversal of the usual view of things shows that Tarkovsky understood 'reality' in his picture to mean reality as portrayed in accordance with cinematic convention. By extension, although they are Rublev's only *real* historical traces and are shown in their current state, the icons are placed beyond the limits of normal filmic reality, and therefore qualify as 'fiction'. The narrative grounds the icons in a temporal reality, in a life, without which they are impossible incursions of the supernatural into our world. The rare cinema tricks stick out, as when blood spurts flamboyantly from an arm wound during the sack of Vladimir. But we almost welcome these lapses into obvious cinema convention because they assure us that Tarkovsky acknowledged himself master of his own fiction, not of history or reality as such, and was happiest as storyteller, not as prophet.

Tarkovsky's desire to achieve both authenticity and distance dictated the use of authentic locations, which was fraught with legal and aesthetic hazards. During the shoot, a small stir was caused by a fire which occurred at the historic Dormition Cathedral in Vladimir; it was awkward that a film advertised as recovering the historical Andrei Rublev might endanger his only surviving frescoes.[34] But the locations also contained hazards for the film, such as the paved yard of Andronikov Monastery or the electric pylon and power lines which the Soviets had tastelessly placed at the east end of the Church of the Protection on the Nerl River near Bogoliubovo (site of the Prologue). Tarkovsky studiously avoided these hazards, pointing the camera to the west at Bogoliubovo and shooting all scenes at Andronikov Monastery in the winter, when the yard is conveniently covered in snow. However, Tarkovsky was happy to capture the sense of wear and tear in the actual structure of the cathedral at Andronikov Monastery. The oldest surviving structure in Moscow, it was built only towards the end of Rublev's life and therefore should, if present in the film's diegesis, be as sparkling new as the prince's palace in episode four. However in the film, although it is only shown from its most advantageous side, it shows all the scars of having been gutted during Napoleon's invasion and used as a prison under Stalin. Shots of the Bogoliubovo Church clearly show its gutted interior, a ruin that invites us in but forces us to project our own past onto its walls. To those who have toured the Golden Ring of old Russian cities around Moscow, close viewing reveals many discrepancies within scenes, some of which were shot at multiple locations. During episode five, the Russian–Tatar forces

approach two different locations in and around Pskov, a stone fortress and a wooden stockade, but they penetrate through to the cathedral in Vladimir, hundreds of miles away! Moreover, the Vladimir cathedral seen from the outside is obviously different from the interiors in this episode and episode four, which were shot at Mosfilm Studios.[35] That these



28 Nikolai Glazkov in multiple roles

discrepancies remain so inconspicuous is testament to Tarkovsky's and cameraman Vadim Iusov's meticulous planning of the long tracking shots. However, the discrepancies contribute subliminally to a subtle sense of disorientation, as if the full truth of the scene is forever receding into an elusive distance.

Both the crucifixion sequence of episode two and the entire final episode, 'The Bell', were shot on a hill opposite the Protection Monastery in Suzdal, and the crew spent most of its time between there and the nearest large city, Vladimir. It was an immense and intense task, led by an inexperienced and moody director who was constantly forced to measure his wild dreams against reality. Aleksandr Misharin, Tarkovsky's collaborator on the screenplay of *The Mirror* (1974), recalls visiting Tarkovsky during shooting and viewing a preliminary edit lasting six hours, which somehow had to be cut down to size.[36] Other glimpses of the arduous shoot are preserved in the poems of Nikolai Glazkov. Glazkov's poem, 'The Flying Peasant' ('Letaiushchii muzhik') is broken into seven 'shots', and reads like a storyboard for the Prologue. In another he describes himself as an extra in episode one 'The Jester':

> It's boring and awkward
> To hold a mug of *kvas* in the barn,
> It's better to swim in the pond,
> So I swim the crawl in my shirt.
>
> And I climb up onto the slippery bank,
> The rain is falling, it's pouring down,
> And the sky in white-grey storm-clouds
> Also makes it into the wonderful shot.
>
> And I go in my wet shirt,
> Fascinated with my important role,
> Watched by the monks:
> Andrei Rublev and Daniil the Black.[37]

Other non-professional actors were cast in minor roles: Solonitsyn's wife played one of the pagan women in episode three, while a local ceramic artist was conscripted to play one of the guardsmen who arrest the jester.[38] Iurii Nikulin, who was known as a clown and comic actor when Tarkovsky cast him as the sacristan Patrikei, recalls Tarkovsky's

satisfaction with his persuasive expressions of pain during his torture in episode five. Nikulin explains that he was able to achieve this naturalistic effect thanks to the burning torch which was dripping onto his feet: 'When the pain became unbearable I began to yell at the Tatar words which weren't in the screenplay'.[39]

Despite such improvisations, for the most part Tarkovsky's planning was deliberate and sure. For the major roles Tarkovsky used professionals with whom he often struck up lasting relationships. He came to rely on his favoured collaborators in part because he knew they could put up with his peculiar and imperious demands. How many actors could equal the patience of Solonitsyn, who refrained from speaking for an entire month prior to shooting the final scene in order 'to find the right intonation for a man who speaks after a long silence'?[40] The reappearance of the same actors in multiple films reinforces the integrity of Tarkovsky's oeuvre, but it also heightens the narrative discontinuities within each separate work.[41] The connection between Burliaev's Boriska and his titular role in *Ivan's Childhood* is underscored by the citation of music from the earlier film in 'The Bell' episode. Even more confusingly, some actors play multiple roles within the same film, most conspicuously Iurii Nazarov, who plays both the Grand Prince and his younger twin. As suggested by his poems, Glazkov does not disappear with the death of Efim in the Prologue; he is present in the hut during 'The Jester', accompanies the Grand Prince in 'The Bell', and probably acted in 'The Raid' as well. When the holy fool reappears as a noble woman at the end of the film the viewer has no way to tell whether it is the same character or simply multiple roles played by the same actress (Irma Rausch, Tarkovsky's first wife).

The other major collaborators on *Andrei Rublev* had also worked on Tarkovsky's previous films: co-screenwriter Andron Konchalovsky, cameraman Vadim Iusov, editor Liudmila Feiginova, composer Viacheslav Ovchinnikov, in addition to the actors Nikolai Burliaev, Nikolai Grin'ko (Daniil), Irma Rausch (the holy fool) and Stepan Krylov (the head bell-founder). Many of these – Iusov, Feiginova and Grin'ko, in addition to Solonitsyn – would be enlisted for Tarkovsky's next film *Solaris*. Grin'ko, one of Tarkovsky's mainstays, has written that Tarkovsky always recalled the production of *Andrei Rublev* with wistful nostalgia: 'We lived as a single family', Grin'ko remarks,[42] a particularly apt image if one considers his fatherly roles in Tarkovsky's films. Despite the constant stress, even the newcomers to Tarkovsky's set, such as costume designer Lidiia Novi, recall Tarkovsky's working methods with

warmth and admiration. As Rolan Bykov (the jester) puts it, Tarkovsky was obsessive, but not dogmatic: 'Such a great artist, Tarkovsky, who always knew precisely what he wanted ... But he also valued others' ideas, treated them lovingly and attentively, and believed in them.'[43]

The collaborative nature of the effort, coupled with the passage of time between conception and release, has created no little confusion over the contributions of the main participants. I have already noted disagreements over Konchalovsky's role in the first draft of the screenplay; accounts likewise differ over the degree of his participation during production. Both he and Aleksandr Misharin have laid claim to the idea of discarding the bulky 'Famine' episode where the holy fool gives birth and regains her sanity.[44] The friction between the two Andrei's probably began long before shooting started and centred on Tarkovsky's tendency to obscure narrative connections and stress non-narrative visual motifs and images. Recalling Tarkovsky saying, 'I want that sense of fresh leaves opening up', Konchalovsky comments, 'For him sensations replaced dramaturgy'.[45] In retrospect, Konchalovsky claims of the finished product that 'there was too much, too many minutiae, which didn't form themselves into any holistic composition'.[46] Criticising Tarkovsky for his overly intellectual approach to actors, he singles out the conversation between Theophanes and Kirill: 'The entire reason we (at least I) wrote it got lost. We made it under the obvious influence of Dostoevsky. Between the characters (not between them and the author, but between the characters themselves) there was supposed to be an almost mystical tension'.[47] However, this criticism hardly seems fair if one considers that in both published screenplays the conversation is between Theophanes and all three monks, it is much shorter, and it bears little of the dramatic tension of the corresponding scene in the film; in the screenplays, it concludes with Andrei's weak sniffle that he can paint better than Theophanes.[48] Konchalovsky's insinuation that Tarkovsky killed the drama by intellectualising it is false; Tarkovsky did something much more radical.

It is easy to attribute the sketchy storyline of *Andrei Rublev* to censorship and budget constraints. However, within these constraints Tarkovsky had a relatively free hand in the way he told the story, and he was a past master at making a virtue of necessity. In 1963 he stressed the importance of two battle scenes, one depicting the Battle of Kulikovo Field in 1380, and one depicting a semi-fictional sack of Vladimir in 1408. In interviews and memoirs, Tarkovsky appears adamant about the necessity of the Kulikovo scene. However it is conspicuously absent from

the screenplays, which include only a single shot of the battle's aftermath, and even this was eventually left out of the film. (Tarkovsky resurrected it in the screenplay of *The Mirror* but refrained from shooting it then as well.)[49] By contrast, the much more elaborate and expensive sack of Vladimir became the film's pivotal event. The loss of the Kulikovo Battle scene diminished the film's overt discourse on national unity, as did the excision of Andrei's flashback of a Tatar siege of Moscow, during which the Muscovite women sacrificed their precious locks of hair. The loss of this scene rendered obscure two overt references to it at other points in the movie and numerous other shots of women's hair. Finally, the removal of the 'Famine' episode rendered the holy fool's later reappearance as a noble woman with a young daughter almost totally opaque. This example shows how Tarkovsky intentionally de-intellectualised key images, such as women's hair, and thereby opened them up for active viewer interpretation. According to Konchalovsky, his more logical approach dissuaded Tarkovsky from collaborating with him on *Solaris*: 'After all I had learnt some lessons from *Rublev* and was interested in the structure of the work, whereas he wanted to destroy the structure. He was obsessed with this goal.'[50] For all his tendentiousness Konchalovsky confirms that obscure narrative and ideological connections issued from a conscious aesthetic of discontinuity on Tarkovsky's part.

That Tarkovsky's radical aesthetic was the underlying cause of the subsequent problems with *Andrei Rublev* is demonstrated by the revisions he made in his protracted but ultimately successful bid to win the film's release. Tarkovsky completed the film at 205 minutes in duration in mid-1966; the final editing was done in such haste that Nikulin's name was left off of the credits, which bore the title *The Passion According to Andrei*.[51] The State Committee on Cinema then drew up a list of changes to be made before the film could be officially accepted. Tarkovsky made many or all of these changes, which amounted to a loss of about fifteen minutes of film. In the meantime, however, an inflammatory newspaper article '... And the Cow Caught Fire' attacked Tarkovsky for 'extreme naturalism'.[52] This infamous article denounces Mosfilm on several grounds, and the author (hiding behind a pseudonym) actually refrains from naming Tarkovsky or his film, which he had evidently seen in a preliminary version (he claims that one offending shot of a naked 'young actress' who is made 'to jump through a flaming bonfire' had been excised, when it is extant in all available edits). Inspired by this denunciation, the committee then returned to the film and demanded more changes, but in a letter of 7 February 1967, Tarkovsky refused to acquiesce to these

'monstrous, illiterate demands [which would] murder the picture'.[53] At some point Tarkovsky did make some further changes, shortening the film by a further five minutes or so. However, *Andrei Rublev* remained officially unfinished and therefore ineligible for release until 1969, when a second premiere was held, a print was sent to the Cannes Film Festival, and foreign distribution rights were sold to a company linked to Columbia Pictures. At this point all hell broke loose: at Cannes, *Andrei Rublev* won the FIPRESCI International Critics' Prize for the screenplay and embarked on a successful run in French theatres, to the horror of Soviet cine-officialdom. After deflecting still further demands for cuts throughout the year, Tarkovsky finally saw the film released in the USSR at the very end of 1971. 'There aren't any announcements in any paper about *Rublyov* being on', Tarkovsky noted in his *Martyrology*, 'Not a single poster in the city. Yet it's impossible to get tickets. All sorts of people keep telephoning, stunned by it, to say thank you'.[54] The film remained forbidden fruit for most Soviet filmgoers until well into the liberalisation of the Soviet system in the era of *perestroika*. Still, Tarkovsky was lucky compared to Konchalovsky and Aleksandr Askol'dov, whose 1967 films were released only in 1987, or Sergei Paradzhanov, who was imprisoned in the 1970s for the crimes he committed against Soviet sensibilities in his films *Shadows of Our Forgotten Ancestors* (1965) and *The Colour of Pomegranates* (1969).

What was wrong with *Andrei Rublev*? The most common charge was 'naturalism', which meant excessive violence and nudity in the central three episodes: the pagan festival, the blinding of the artisans and the sack of Vladimir. Nationalistically minded viewers were also liable to take umbrage at the rather desultory depiction of early-Muscovite Russia, which is shown mired in cruelty, famine, and internecine strife, with a repressive Church cajoling the fun-loving pagan masses. Even some sympathetic viewers, such as Solzhenitsyn, were disappointed with Tarkovsky's weak-kneed Rublev, who not only fails to paint a single image in the film, but also cavorts with naked heathen wenches, kills a man, and generally behaves in a manner unbecoming to a hesychast monk. Why did Tarkovsky need the historical Rublev at all, if he had nothing to say about him as the subject of some remotely plausible narrative? Beneath all these criticisms, however, lies a more fundamental unease with Tarkovsky's overall aesthetic, which viewers everywhere are liable to find confusing or just plain boring.

So what did Tarkovsky change in *Andrei Rublev* to make it acceptable? The process which led from the 205-minute version to the 185-

minute one is usually described as cutting. The most conspicuous cuts were the most graphic shots of the stonemasons' gouged-out eyes, the burning cow, and the horse being lanced (although its horrific fall remained). Four embedded scenes of flashbacks or fantasies were also cut completely: Foma's fantasy of flight in episode two, Andrei's reminiscence of the three monks under a rain-soaked oak tree in episode four (merged with a similar sequence in episode seven), the younger prince's fantasy of humiliating the Grand Prince in episode five, and Boriska's recollection of the bellfounding in episode seven. All in all, I have counted thirty-six shots which were completely deleted in the 185-minute version of *Andrei Rublev*, and about eighty-five which were considerably abbreviated, including nine very long takes which are split each into two or more parts. The total number of shots went from 403 to 390, with the average shot length dropping from 31" to 28". The only sequence which remained inviolable was the Epilogue in colour. In a 1969 interview Tarkovsky claimed that the cuts improved the film by streamlining it:

> In the first place, nobody has ever cut anything from *Andrei Rublev*. Nobody except me. I made some cuts myself. The first version of the film lasted 3 hours 20 minutes. The second – 3 hours 15 minutes. I shortened the final version to 3 hours 6 minutes. And I declare and insist that in my sincere opinion the latest version is the best, the most successful, the most beautiful in the way I understand that word. And I only cut certain overly long scenes which the viewer doesn't even notice. The cuts have not changed anything either in the content, the accents we placed on the material, or the important dialogue in the film; in a word they have removed excessive time which was not intended. We shortened certain scenes of violence; however we did this in order to induce psychological shock instead of merely creating an unpleasant impression which would only destroy our intent. [...] I do not regret at all that the film has been shortened to its present length.[55]

Maia Turovskaia, a trusted source on Tarkovsky, has also concluded that, despite the natural 'breath rhythms' of the first edit, one can see the 'hand of the "later" Tarkovsky' in his removal of 'narrative excess' in the 185-minute version of *Andrei Rublev*.[56]

Other changes suggest a much more significant shift in Tarkovsky's approach between the first and second edits. In addition to straightforward cuts, Tarkovsky also re-arranged several sequences, used at least two alternate takes, restored one long take, which in the first

version had been split into two discrete shots, and even added shots which had been completely absent from the longer edit. The shorter version has many more examples of fades and dissolves between shots, often augmented by aural linkages between sequences, all of which encourages the viewer to link individual shots and scenes into causal chains. Moreover, Tarkovsky freely changed the dialogue (which was all dubbed in afterwards anyway) and added dramatic musical cues. Evidently, the re-edit was not merely a matter of economy, but also a retreat into more explicit narrative causation. This explains why Tarkovsky deleted flashbacks and fantasies which fragment Andrei's unifying perspective and provide insight into others' visual imaginations. In the second version Tarkovsky takes upon himself part of the work which he had originally entrusted to the viewer.

When Tarkovsky engaged Eduard Artem'ev as his composer for *Solaris* in 1970, he chose to show him the original version of *Andrei Rublev*, suggesting that, privately at least, he considered it to be a more accurate realisation of his design.[57] Just what the two versions reveal about the film's shape will be addressed after my discussion of the plot of the original version, known as *The Passion According to Andrei*. For now it is sufficient to establish that both versions were authorised and follow cogent narrative strategies. This cannot be said of the versions which were shown in the West in the 1970s, which incorporated additional cuts made outside of Tarkovsky's control, although in at least one case he did grant his acquiescence, perhaps out of a sense of powerlessness.[58] By the late-1980s these bastardised versions had disappeared, and the 185-minute cut was accepted as standard, although the precise composition of certain scenes still differed between Soviet and Western prints and the soundtrack had been remastered. In addition, most VHS and DVD versions of the re-edit actually run four per cent faster at 176 minutes (due to a cheaper method of transfer), and the aspect ratio is cut from 2.35:1 to 1.85:1. In 1987, the Soviet film archivists unveiled the original 205-minute version, which has become the standard for theatrical showings and is now available on DVD in the true aspect ratio, but with an image cropped on all sides, which obscures some key details and affects the expansive tone of Iusov's widescreen cinematography. In March 2004 Mosfilm demonstrated a restored print of the 185-minute edit, with enhanced audio and colour.[59] It remains to be seen which edit of the film, and indeed which version of which edit, becomes accepted as canonical. Quite possibly the film will continue to exist in parallel forms, the comparison of which will always be a crucial part of comprehending the film.

The history of the film's production and release has often overshadowed the film itself. Attention has been deflected from its narrative discontinuities, first by Tarkovsky's emphasis on its historical themes in public statements, and then by critics interpreting the film as an allegory for the director's own *via crucis*. Tarkovsky did put a lot of himself in the film. Solonitsyn's Andrei even borrows some of Tarkovsky's nervous habits, such as biting his fingernails. Boriska, the impertinent bellfounder, is another obviously self-referential character, and it is tempting to see his sidekick Andreika as a jab at Konchalovsky. In the end though, this tortured path to the screen, however interesting and meaningful, must lead the viewer back to the film itself, just as Tarkovsky's narrative enables the viewer to see Rublev's icons.

3

THE SHAPE OF THE STORY

The plot of *Andrei Rublev* can seem both uneventful and confusing, especially if one is reliant upon flawed subtitles. Even as well prepared a viewer as Solzhenitsyn has called it 'an impossibly long film filled with extra episodes which have no bearing on the main story'.[60] A key factor in this confusion is that the title and arrangement lead one to expect a traditional narrative pattern. However, Rublev is the central protagonist only in the sense that he sees more than any other character, and the key events are ones of vision or of witness. In this suspension of action Tarkovsky is true to a long Russian tradition, exemplified by Anton Chekhov's frustrated dramas and applied to cinema as early as 1913 by the young Boris Pasternak: 'Let [the cinema] photograph not stories, but the atmospheres of stories'.[61]

Given this tradition and Tarkovsky's own predilections, what is surprising is not that the plot is so thin, but that it is present at all. Tarkovsky stressed that he did not want to follow any common narrative pattern: 'Often films about people of art are constructed according to the scheme: an event occurs, the hero observes it. Then the viewer sees him think it over, and then he expresses his ideas about the event in his works.'[62] The most stable element of Tarkovsky's project was the idea of displacing Rublev's icons to the end of the narrative. As early as 1962, Tarkovsky wrote:

> In our film there will not be a single shot of Rublev painting his icons. He will simply live, and he won't even be present on-screen in all episodes. And the last part of the film (in colour) will be solely devoted to Rublev's icons. We will show them in detail (as in a popular scientific film). The on-screen demonstration of the icon will be accompanied by the same musical theme which sounded in the episode of Rublev's life corresponding to the time during which the icon was conceived.[63]

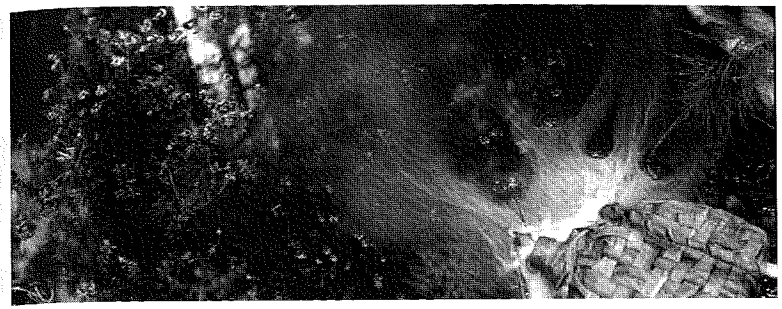
Rublev's character is formed gradually of events, some of which he experiences, some of which he sees, while others are seen only by the viewer. Tarkovsky is concerned not to specify causality. Instead, the viewer must actively seek and even construct connections between events, people and images. Tarkovsky compared the demands and the effect on the viewer to that of a mosaic:

> You can stick your nose into some fragment, beat it with your fist, and scream: 'Why is it black here? It shouldn't be black here! I don't like to look at black!' But you have to look at a mosaic from afar and on the whole, and if you change one colour the whole thing falls apart.[64]

Without negating the importance of the events themselves, Tarkovsky stresses their overall *shape*, which manifests itself in architectonic symmetries, doublings, repetitions, and even one or two decisive actions. The plot (in the conventional sense) reveals an arched shape, formed of Andrei's departure from and return to the Trinity Monastery. At other levels, the plot stresses the gradual elevation of Andrei's vision over the course of his travails. However, the arching of the plot and the elevation of Andrei's gaze provide the mere framework for the viewer's own construction of a detailed narrative. In some respects, it is the resulting formation of the viewer's own vision which is the major point of the film.

The plot constantly gestures beyond itself, to events or causes which are simply not accessible from our vantage point. Thus, for example, the character Daniil disappears and reappears without any explanation; when all the major surviving characters gather in the final scene, Daniil is absent although he is the one person who is attested to have been present in Rublev's final years. These gestures to an absent beyond are not really gaps though, since they communicate a clear directionality. For example, most episodes (with the exception of 'Love') begin or end on rivers which link them into a single journey across a unified space, even if we sometimes do not know where we are. Similarly, many scenes end with background characters proceeding to the right, as if in a universal migration to some off-screen destination. Further patterns are evident across the film. For instance, each episode contains both an act of cruelty and an act of creativity, often as two sides of the

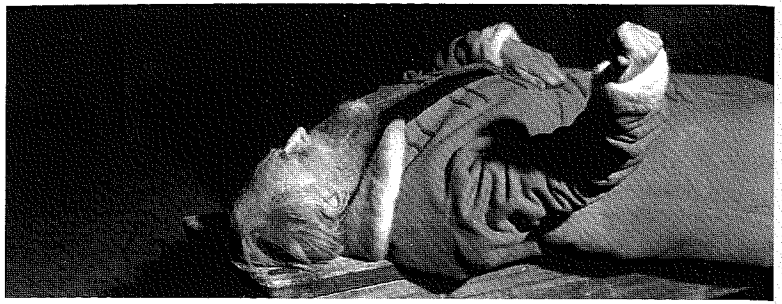
 The people's procession



same coin. The link between art and brutality is confirmed by the use of similar wooden contraptions: as the machinery of torture in episode two; as an undefined artistic device in episode four; and as the bell-hoist in episode seven. Each episode is linked to others either by repeated shots (such as the images of flight or of the monks under the rain-soaked oak) or visual motifs (such as white liquids spilled into the rivers or white birds and feathers fluttering down from the top of the frame). The music and ambient sound weave another layer of themes and variations which affect the viewer's perception of isolated events. If one regards the film as an education in sight, then Kirill's mole-like blindness, Daniil's amiable nearsightedness, Foma's vivid imaginings, and Andrei's carnal curiosity are all superseded in the end by a sympathetic witnessing which forms disjointed reality into a cogent shape.

Perhaps the most powerful means by which the film teaches to see is the complex weave of characters' perspectives, with their overlapping claims to legitimacy. A prime example is Theophanes the Greek, a character who is constantly shown on the borderline between life and death. His role as angel (*angelos* means 'messenger' in Greek) is reflected

Two visual motifs: white liquid spilled into water (from episode four) and white birds falling through the frame (from episode five)



by Andrei's pupil Foma, who imagines the flight of the swan and the angels at the crucifixion, and who then is himself shot down like a bird in mid-flight or 'an angel with one wing'.[65] Like Theophanes, Foma treats his vocation matter-of-factly, as a craft, and his frustration at Andrei's inaction calls to mind Theophanes' admission that he gets bored if his icons take too long. Theophanes' stark and somewhat imperious view of things is also reflected in Boriska's tyrannical coordination of the bellfounding. Boriska, Foma and Theophanes are united also as secular-minded artists who are free of pangs of conscience, but limited in their

Theophanes has three appearances, each time on the border between life and death

vision. However, this grouping of characters is unstable. There is no consistent point of view for the narration, even when the titular hero is present in the shot. The camera may seem to *sympathise* with a character for a time, but it invariably switches to another character or takes on a life of its own. There are also few establishing shots to give a sense of the objective space in which the viewer can array events and characters. Instead, the meaning of a shot is liable to remain suspended until the viewer ascribes it to a particular subject and places it precisely in the narrative. The screen acts as a locus of exchange on which the characters' and viewers' gazes run like alternating current through the tense, pensive images. The viewer is encouraged to acknowledge a manifold of possible plots and interpretations and to avoid reducing the film to a tighter story. The screen is not a transparent window on objective reality, but the material basis of a narrative form which takes shape only with the viewer's active participation.

Prologue

Immediately after the credits, Tarkovsky's restless camera reveals the hasty preparations of a peasant, who rows across a river, ascends a church bell-tower and takes to flight, all the time pursued by a throng of superstitious peasants. The balloon, roughly patched together of furs and hides, ascends over the ensuing fight around the bonfire. At first hesitantly, Efim declares 'I'm flying' and lurches forward along a river bank; from his bird's-eye view he sees a herd of livestock covering the flood plain. Crane shots of the landscape alternate with static shots of the aviator hanging immobile in a tangle of ropes. Then, with a gasp and a thud, the camera plummets to the river bank and freezes on a close-up of the grassy knoll. Cut to a horse rolling on its back and then rising to its hooves in slow motion. In a final shot we see the motionless aviator sprawled as if dead, the balloon exhaling as if alive, and the horse passing through the frame like an ethical judgment.

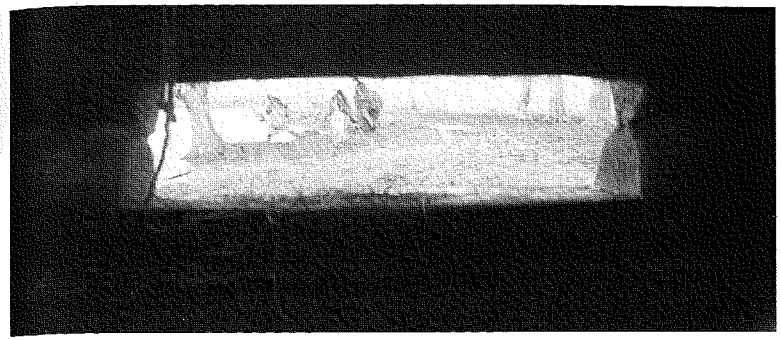
Tarkovsky's films often begin with some kind of prologue which establishes the general thematic space of the picture. *Ivan's Childhood* begins with an idyllic scene which is immediately unmasked as the nightmare of a child warrior. At the start of *The Mirror*, the narrator's son switches on a TV set which shows a hypnotist curing a young man of his stutter. 'I can speak', the youth declares before the opening titles roll. In this connection, the prologue to *Andrei Rublev* could be taken to declare: 'I can see'. In eighteen shots lasting a total of 6 minutes 36 seconds, Vadim Iusov's camera demonstrates its entire repertoire of

movements. The long tracking shot of Efim walking into and through the church introduces us to the camera as an inquisitive and sensitive guide in an opaque world. The camera is conscious of the viewer and manipulates his reactions, making him gasp when Efim clumsily clambers out onto a ledge and then pushes off unsteadily from the church (in a masterfully vertiginous crane shot from the balloon). Our wholehearted identification with Efim causes us to accept his smooth flight over a succession of different landscapes, even as the intervening shots of him suspended over a river bend call his progress into question. After the camera swings violently, plummets to the ground, and seizes up in a freeze frame, we are clearly reminded both of the camera's indifference to the human experience and of our own dependence upon this ambivalent perspective. Like the camera, the spectator witnesses the collapse both of endeavour and of vision, but is helpless to *act*, as if in an out-of-body experience.

On reflection, there is even more in this short sequence to give us pause. At the end of the first shot, Efim's collaborator turns around to face the camera. We then see and hear the crowd chasing Efim. The implication is that the first man has heard the commotion and is looking our direction to identify its source. However, this apparent connection is actually impossible because the crowd is not audible during the first shot, nor is it possible to locate it in the direction of the camera. What then, does he look at? We aren't given the chance to dwell for long on this mystery, because new ones keep arising. How does Efim make it to the upper floors? The Church of the Protection of the Mother of God at Bogoliubovo near Suzdal famously has no stairs, because it is only the surviving core of a much larger original structure. Does an unseen woman whisper 'O Lord' just as Efim pushes off, or is this just his imagination? Does he fly far, as suggested by the crane shots, or just a few yards, as is suggested by the static shots which hover unchanged over the same river bend and village? Does the horse represent an angelic 'He is saved', or the face of a nature as implacable as the camera? The discontinuities, which are palpable if not conspicuous, warn the viewer not to rush to conclusions, but rather to focus on *seeing* the full amplitude of multivalent reality.

Episode One: The Jester. Summer 1400

Three monks leave the Trinity Monastery, ignoring the plea of the abbot's young messenger but voicing wistful regrets and fears for their future in Moscow. One says, 'There are probably unseen multitudes



[*vidimo-nevidimo*] of icon painters in Moscow before we ever get there'; such subtle expressions of sight continue throughout the film. The monks disagree on how long each has been at the monastery; we don't learn who is correct, but at issue is whether they had been there prior to the death of its founder St Sergius in 1392. As their conversation is cut short by rain, the youngest one fussily dashes for the shelter of a scrawny birch tree, but Kirill ridicules him: 'We won't dissolve'. The rain covers the screen like gauze, but the field behind is bathed in sunlight as the three monks jog along to the right, always to the right. Tarkovsky cuts to a head-on shot of the three picking their way through the mud which, as the camera zooms out, is revealed to be the view from inside a hut, out of a long lateral window which matches the dimensions of Iusov's widescreen lens. The sheet of rain and the framing of the window remind us of our own dependence upon the screen and our inability to access this enigmatic life directly.

In episode one, the window echoes the cinema screen

After zooming out from the window, the camera performs a complete circuit counter-clockwise around the hut, following the dance of the folk entertainer (*skomorokh*) who sings a bawdy song and accompanies himself on the tambourine. This shot, which lasts over two minutes, ends up at the front door, through which enter the three monks. When the jester's song ends we gradually become conscious of a female voice singing a wordless plaint and of the camera executing another masterful pan around the hut, focusing this time not on the jester but on his audience. Even the drunk who apes the jester is shown, in a pensive moment, as a sovereign centre of vision and meaning. Switching between foreground and background in this way transforms our own gaze, which must not rest on the first thing at hand. The panning shot comes full circle to reveal only two monks. The jester steps out for a moment and hangs upside-down in the doorway; a hidden cut makes his climb seem improbably quick. The youngest monk looks out the lateral window at a cassocked figure talking to horsemen. Four horsemen presently approach the hut and arrest the jester, bashing his head against a tree in a way which vividly recalls his own dance. When the guards smash the jester's musical instrument (*gusli*), it makes an off-key twang like those which Chekhov

inserted at key moments of his dramas. The absent monk, now identified as Kirill, walks in with a bird perched on his hands; at his suggestion the monks leave hurriedly, escorted by the peasants' leering eyes.

At the beginning of the episode the as yet unnamed younger monk sighs, 'It's a pity we're leaving the Trinity'. By the end of the episode the trinity of monks has already begun to disintegrate in intimations of oppression, betrayal and apocalypse. The insular world of the monastery has been exchanged for a multidimensional world which at first surprises and shocks the gaze of the one monk whose eyes are fully open to it.

Episode Two:
Theophanes the Greek. Summer–Winter–Spring–Summer 1405–1406

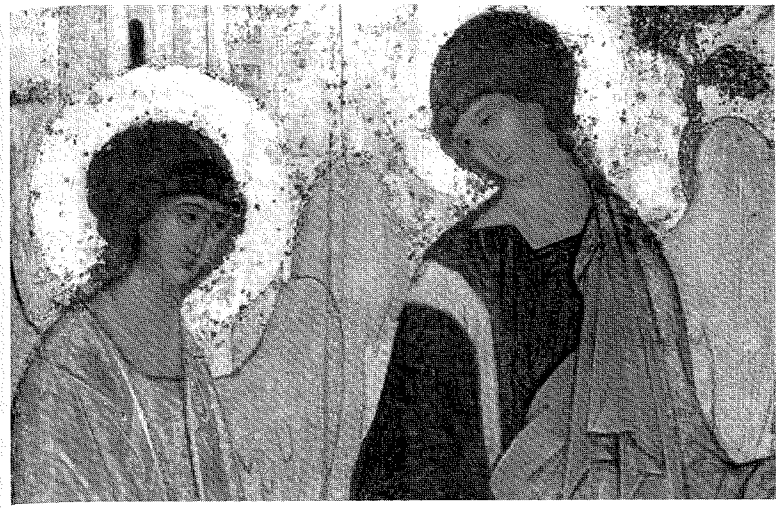
Kirill remains the focus of the next episode, which opens with him walking through the narrow, twisting Moscow streets into Red Square, where a man is undergoing torture and execution. As he enters a dark building, again the camera seems to hijack the point of view, moving fluidly into an adjacent room where a man lies lifelessly on a bench. Kirill follows gingerly, asks 'Is there anyone alive in here?' and is shocked to hear the man speak. 'Where are you looking? Look there!', the old man cries, pointing to the camera. Kirill impresses Theophanes with his learned speech, but is offended when Theophanes takes him for his fellow monk, Andrei Rublev. Theophanes needs a helper, and Kirill promises to serve him 'like a faithful dog', but only if Theophanes publicly sends for him in front of Rublev and the other brothers. Instead of answering, Theophanes runs to the window to castigate the crowd at the execution. As the victim is removed from the machinery of torture, the crowd disperse to right off-screen.

We then see Kirill in his cell at Andronikov Monastery, munching on a cucumber as a voice-over reads Ecclesiastes 11: 9; 12: 1, 6–8, 11–13; one assumes the voice is Kirill's, although its tone is uncharacteristically even. The young Foma enters and argues with Kirill. Foma's surprise at Kirill's use of a lamp in daylight calls attention to the monk's need for artificial illumination. Kirill's rejoinder, 'Have you fed my dog?' begins a running theme of Foma's indolence. Foma then leaves and returns again to announce the arrival of a messenger from Theophanes. In the next shot it transpires however, that the messenger has come not for Kirill, but for Andrei, whom we only now learn to identify with the insecure, younger monk. It is as if Andrei's very naming as an individual is tantamount to his being called outside of the cloister. Andrei immediately agrees to join Theophanes at the Cathedral of the Annunciation (Rublev's first attested commission), but his haste alienates

Daniil. Alone in their cell, Andrei pleads with his friend, saying: 'I see with your eyes'. Daniil forgives him, but sends him off alone. Kirill, humiliated and livid, noisily quits the monastery, bludgeons his dog to death, and disappears among the oaks.

Together at the table, Daniil and Andrei adopt a pose reminiscent of Rublev's *Trinity*. There is perhaps an expectation that the film will be about the restoration of this trinity, but this expectation will be frustrated. Instead it will become the story of Andrei learning to see for himself without the love and support accorded him by his friends. Andrei is surrounded by examples of imperfect vision. The events of the plot, to the extent that there have been any, have thus far centred on Kirill, yet despite his display of initiative and articulate speech, his actions seem precipitated by a numbing inability to express himself. Theophanes' command that Kirill look into the camera, reinforces the monk's need for mediated vision as does his gaping stare at Theophanes' icon. Daniil, good-natured but inattentive, is twice shown with a book which he is

Kirill's inquisitive gaze; Andrei and Theophanes refuse to face each other



incapable of focusing on. His parting words of gratitude to the mistress of the hut seem ill-advised in the light of Kirill's implied denunciation of the jester. Andrei is distinguished by his youthful ambition, his nervy temperament, and his wandering gaze; he alone makes eye-contact with the jester and he alone seems to divine the significance of Kirill's absence from the hut. Subtly, perhaps imperceptibly, the viewer is being prepared to expect a resolution to Andrei's story not in the events of the plot, but in the fate of his eyes.

The following sequence in episode two dwells especially on Andrei's developing vision. We are transported to an unidentified location, where the dank ground is palpably fecund and the trees are

Andrei Rublev, *The Old Testament Trinity* (detail); Andrei and Daniil echo Rublev's *Trinity*

budding with those 'sticky leaves' which Tarkovsky was so eager to show, according to Konchalovsky. Andrei castigates Foma for his indolence and greed. In answer to Foma's complaint, 'How can you think if your belly is ringing?', Andrei declares, 'Only through prayer can the soul ascend from the visible to the invisible'. Foma is limited less by his body than by his rationalism; Andrei asserts the need for faith. As if investigating the dispute, the camera caressingly poses Andrei and Foma amidst the tree trunks and roots, subtly displacing them as it pans, and in an invisible cut it discovers Theophanes sitting nearby, his legs teeming with ants. Theophanes joins in the persecution of Foma, who wanders off and finds a dead swan. Three aerial crane shots similar to those in the Prologue are followed by a long take of almost three minutes which commences with Foma crouching on the river bank. The camera rises together with Foma, but then dwells on Andrei and Theophanes whose figures execute a complex ballet, while the camera floats around them in a long take. As Andrei expounds a paradoxical understanding of the Russian people and the crucifixion, the camera comes to rest on the back of his head and then cuts to the shot of a white cloth in flowing water. The camera zooms out to reveal a passion play, set in wintertime Russia, accompanied by a drum and choral music, and featuring winged angels. The voice-over of Andrei's theological argument continues throughout this sequence, but the intensity of the images makes it difficult to follow. After the Russian Christ is nailed to the cross, we cut back to Foma, who rinses the white paint off his brushes. The white paint flows in the stream as an echo of the cloth in the first shot of the crucifixion sequence.

This episode continually frustrates the viewer's attempt to define a single narrative point of view. The fantasy of flying is precipitated by Foma's touching the dead swan, but the images reprise the crane shots of Efim's human flight in the Prologue. By contrast, the crucifixion fantasy arises out of Andrei's head (both literally and figuratively), but it concludes with Foma's brushes. Both sequences are acts of collaborative imagination and as such, provide a model for how viewers appropriate others' images and ideas into their own imaginative narrative. As usual, the viewer is given no clear interpretive guide, except the imperative to keep watching.

Episode Three: The Holiday. 1408

Without explanation, Daniil and Andrei are together again, accompanied by a group of helpers and pupils on their way to Vladimir. As they set up camp on a river bank, Andrei wanders off and is taken up in a nocturnal pagan celebration. He follows one naked woman and, when she is pulled

As Andrei submits to the spectacle of flesh, Petr and Foma look on

down into the bushes by a naked man, Andrei blindly steps into a bonfire. He looks inquisitively around, especially at another woman who is jumping through a fire in a kind of ritual. He is grabbed by three men and tied to a pole in a hut in crucifixion fashion, whereupon he curses them with hellfire. When the men leave, he convinces the naked woman, who is called Marfa, to untie him. She kisses him passionately and, when he weakly remonstrates, she says: 'It's that kind of night. Everyone must make love'. He runs off, avoiding with difficulty the couples copulating in the grass, but Marfa confronts him again with a seductive gaze. Cut to the morning, where, amidst smouldering fires and couples languidly stirring, Andrei gingerly picks his way out of the hut and out of the village. He joins up with his comrades who regard his scratched face with consternation. He asks, 'What are you looking at?' Daniil reproaches him by saying, 'Take a good look at yourself'. As they paddle away, guardsmen and monks pursue two pagan revellers into the river. 'Don't look', Andrei commands his young pupil, Sergei. After a struggle, the woman escapes and swims silently past the monks, whose eyes seem paralysed.

At the beginning of the episode, the monk Aleksei comments that the young Petr has never seen the famous cathedrals in Vladimir; Daniil answers: 'Never mind. He'll clamber around the scaffolding [*lesa* – literally, forests], wave his brush around, and figure it out'. This comment presages Andrei's actions in a baldly Freudian manner which calls additional attention to the theme of carnal vision in 'The Festival'. Andrei is literally singed by the spectacle of naked female flesh, while Marfa's gaze hypnotises him in the night. While he fusses about Sergei's innocent eyes, Andrei ignores Petr's glowering look and seems strangely unperturbed by his own fall. The problem with Andrei's vision soon

affects the viewer, who may notice that, as she runs towards the river and then swims across it, the woman repeatedly changes her form. Accounts of the shoot confirm that three actresses were used,[66] but no explanation is forthcoming. It is as if the camera sees her through Andrei's carnal gaze, which constructs her as a mutable object of desire instead of as a person.

The pagan woman played by three different actresses

The entire episode is like a mutable gaze into Russia's pagan past. It abounds in intimations of the supernatural, from the weird music which draws Andrei into the wood to the giant white figure which appears in a rare long shot. Even in the chronology of the film, 'The Festival' is difficult to place. It is the only episode for which a season is not specified, leaving open its temporal relationship to the two subsequent episodes (also dated 1408); for example, little Sergei is present here although he appears to join Rublev's crew only in the following episode. Foma says, 'It'll be June soon', but the festival seems linked to the tradition of St John's Eve, which occurs on the summer solstice on 22 June. In short, this is a midsummer night's dream in which urgent questions of the plot (such as 'Did Andrei have sex with Marfa?') are overwhelmed by a more basic disorientation. The viewer is encouraged to identify with Andrei only insofar as he adopts the role of a witness who tries to stitch the rent cloth of the narrative into a single shape, providing a model for the viewer's own composition of the film.

Episode Four: The Last Judgement. Spring 1408

The temporal disjuncture of 'The Festival' is exacerbated in the story of the large fresco of the Last Judgement in the cathedral in Vladimir. As I noted before, such a fresco is still extant in Dormition Cathedral and is attributed to Andrei Rublev and Daniil the Monk, but the creative act is here suspended in indecision and reflection. A tracking shot around the cathedral shows the idle crew (including Foma, Petr, and Sergei). Petr is busy creating the perfect surface, as if to erase the memory of what he saw in the previous episode. In a subtle foreshadowing of the next episode, an axe is stuck into the scaffolding. To paraphrase Chekhov, if there's an axe stuck in the scaffolding in the first act, it must chop

The axe in the scaffolding in the Dormition Cathedral at Vladimir, foreshadowing Rublev's crime in the next episode

something later on. In the meantime, however, in good Chekhovian tradition, the crew is adrift in ennui.

The sacristan nervously urges the painters on in Andrei's absence and warns that the bishop is taking measures to punish them. At this, the scene shifts to a field of grain where Andrei and Daniil discuss how to paint the Last Judgement. As in Andrei's conversation with Theophanes, the camera pans constantly around the two characters who hardly ever face each other. Daniil is a pragmatist: icons are supposed to copy canonical patterns, so there's no point getting uptight. Andrei says he doesn't want 'to scare people'. The topic of vision is paramount here. 'Look at me', Daniil implores. Andrei averts his eyes from the task at hand, just as he would avert believers' eyes from the horrible truths of the apocalypse. As a horseman approaches (perhaps the bishop's messenger, the agent of Andrei's demise), the camera violently swings around 180 degrees to show him galloping away behind them. This cut echoes the description of the road in the screenplays as slashing through the fields 'like a mark drawn on whitewash'.[67]

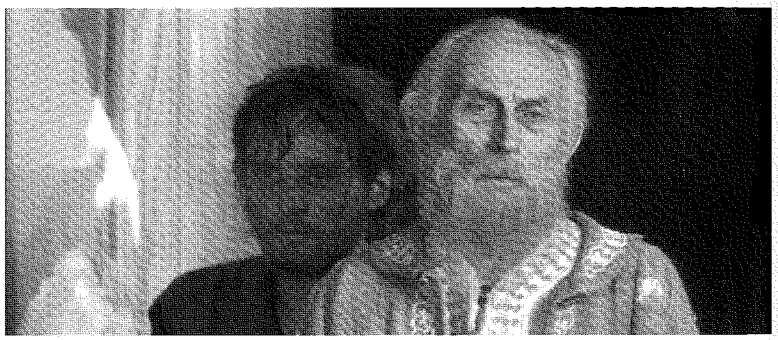
Cutting back to the church, Andrei is shown nervously biting his fingernails, while in voice-over he reads a key passage on love from St Paul (I Corinthians 13: 11–13, 1–10). The voice-over continues as we cut to Andrei in a lighter moment, playing with the infant princess in a palace of brilliant white stone, filled with the airborne poplar fluff which blankets Russia every spring. The scene, white on white, is almost blinding, and the Grand Prince squints agitatedly at the invisible reliefs. His henchman Stepan recommends painting the stone with bright colours. Fed up, the stonemasons tell him they are going to Zvenigorod to work for his younger brother. Outside, surrounded by charred wood (remains of the former palace, one learns from the screenplay), they explain to Andrei that the elder prince has tried to get off too cheaply and that his younger brother has purchased 'even whiter' stone. We see Sergei blindly groping an unused relief as if it were a tablet in Braille. This, incidentally, is the only time we see Andrei working on icons; he is cleaning a scorched image of *The Miracle of St George Killing the Dragon*, together with two young princesses, one of whom says she has 'dirtied her hands' on the burnt icon. On this cue, we switch to an overhead shot in the forest which shows Stepan leading the prince's guard against the stonemasons and blinding them in gruesome fashion. The only survivor is the youth Sergei, although it is not clear in the end whether he belongs to the stonemasons' party or has simply followed them into the forest. The scene ends with white paint spilled into water.

The next shot is like a negative image of this: a hand smearing dark paint over an immaculate white wall, creating a gash which echoes the path slashed through the field. Daniil has Sergei read 'from Scripture'; he opens to I Corinthians 11: 3–9. Enter a 'holy fool', who gawks at the scene in the church but breaks out crying at the sight of the desecrated wall. From a shot of the back of Andrei's head, which echoes the beginning of the crucifixion scene, the camera then cuts to a sequence of four shots of the three monks (Andrei, Daniil and Kirill) taking shelter under an oak tree; the music and the bird, which Kirill holds in his hands, suggest that this sequence should be dated around the time of episode one. Cutting back to the church, we see Andrei walk outside, followed by the astonished gaze of his colleagues. He looks back into the church; switching to his point of view, we see the holy fool and the rest of Andrei's crew looking out at him. The holy fool then exits out of the church towards him.

The entire scene at the palace and with the stonemasons, introduced by Andrei's voice-over and culminating in his desecration of the wall, seems marked as a flashback from Andrei's point of view. The precise location and time are not defined. Judging by the weather, the scene starts in early summer and then flashes back to early spring, perhaps even before episode three 'The Festival', which would account for Sergei's appearance there. Vida Johnson and Graham Petrie (1994) consider the flashback an explanation of Rublev's inactivity: his crisis is resolved only by the appearance of the holy fool, who gives him 'the confidence to paint a "happy" Last Judgment'.[68] There are problems with reading the scene as Rublev's actual memory. After all, the first part of the flashback is almost surreal and Andrei does not actually witness the blinding, as far as we know. Moreover, if that occurred at some point in the past, then the smearing of the paint seems quite a delayed reaction. In addition, the frescoes would appear to have been finished by the next episode, which takes place that very autumn. It is more logical to see Andrei's imagined recollection of the murder of the stonemasons, together with the pagan rite, not as the *cause* of his painter's block, but rather as its *cure*: the cruelty of blindness and the distortions of the carnal gaze give Andrei a preview of the Last Judgement and instruct him how to re-shape it as a fresco. The paint smear is not yet a fresco, but it does express Andrei's first attempt to form his raw horror into a visual representation. Curiously, when the holy fool looks at it in anguish the smear has a different shape, suggesting the way that pictures speak in distinct ways to each pair of eyes.

Episode Five: The Raid. Autumn 1408

The opening episode of part two follows closely in time but marks a drastic change to an unabashedly epic diction. Andrei steps firmly out of the central role and is reduced to the rank of a spectator alongside us. A rare panoramic shot shows a military camp on a river bank. Here the younger prince meets up with his Mongol–Tatar allies and attacks Vladimir. Three flashbacks reveal the history of their fraternal conflict, including the younger prince's fantasy of overcoming his brother in a violent wrestling match. An orgy of violence culminates in the siege of the very church Andrei has presumably been painting. Inside, we see Andrei and the holy fool cowering in supplication; 'Lord Have Mercy' is the chant. When the enemy soldiers burst in, the holy fool is seized and taken up into a loft; Andrei follows and kills the would-be rapist with an axe. Exterior shots show the attackers stripping the gilt off of the cupolas of the Cathedral of the Dormition. In the aftermath, the sacristan Patrikei is tortured, a molten cross is poured into his mouth, and he is pulled away,



54 The burnt book puts Andrei into the shadows

writhing, behind a horse. Some time later in the same space, to the accompaniment of bells tolling quietly, the holy fool plaits the hair of a dead woman while Andrei converses with Theophanes, who, it turns out, is dead. One by one, Andrei's helpers are struck down. Daniil is absent without explanation. The tumultuous episode concludes with a series of slow-motion shots of the burning church with white birds fluttering down through the frame. Time itself freezes as the action subsides into memory.

The conversation with Theophanes is the central event of Rublev's story. At first, the viewer sees only an unknown hand leafing through a charred volume. In the course of the ensuing conversation, Theophanes surprises himself by reciting a line from the New Testament, exclaiming, 'I remember! I haven't forgotten!' The Book is superfluous in heaven, where God communicates without verbal mediation. However, it remains dear to Theophanes, perhaps because of its pedagogical role in preparing him for divine wordlessness. Theophanes treats images in a similar way. He nonchalantly dismisses Andrei's grief over his burnt iconostasis: 'Do you know how many iconostases I have had burnt?' he asks encouragingly. To Andrei's question about heaven, he answers, 'It doesn't look at all as you imagine it'. However, after calling into question the accuracy of the icon and the icon-painter's gaze, Theophanes gestures to the charred iconostasis and adds, 'Still, it's all so beautiful!' Theophanes demotes the icon to an approximation of the truth, which does not express transcendent reality precisely, but imprints it in beauty as the tracing of an outline. Andrei responds to this crisis of word and image by disavowing speech and icon-painting. At this point, *Andrei Rublev* becomes a film about the resurrection of the word and image through Andrei's purgative silence. He must rediscover the burnt word and image as imprints of a spiritual shape, and not as transcendent reality itself; and he must embody that spiritual shape in his actions, which are more durable than words and images.

Episode Six: Love. Winter 1412

At the end of 'The Raid', Andrei vows to give up painting. As 'Love [or Charity]' begins, we see he has also taken a vow of silence. He is busy with his duties around Andronikov Monastery and with taking care of the holy fool. In the monastery, five monks sit at a table at the confluence of two long corridors. They peel apples and discuss the famine. When Kirill appears, one monk recognises him. When Andrei enters, the monks explain to Kirill that he is repenting for unspecified sins committed with the holy fool. Next, the abbot walks in and, despite initial reluctance, accepts Kirill back into the

community with the penance of copying the Scriptures out fifteen times. Back outside, some Mongols ride up, make fun of the holy fool and carry her off despite Andrei's despairing silent protestations. Andrei's mute witness is helpless to prevent this betrayal. Instead, he returns to his Sisyphean labour of dropping hot rocks into a barrel of water.

'Love' is a barren episode, filled with negative space and absent meaning. The untranslated foreign speech of the Tatars is only marginally less meaningful than the idle gossip of the apple-peelers. Andrei has replaced expression with self-absorption. Kirill squints at

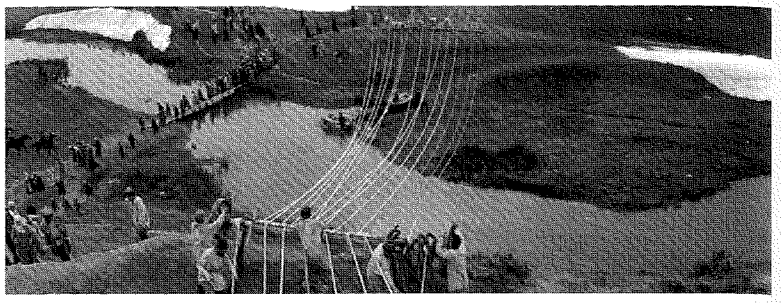
 Krill discovers the *camera obscura* works but remains in blindness

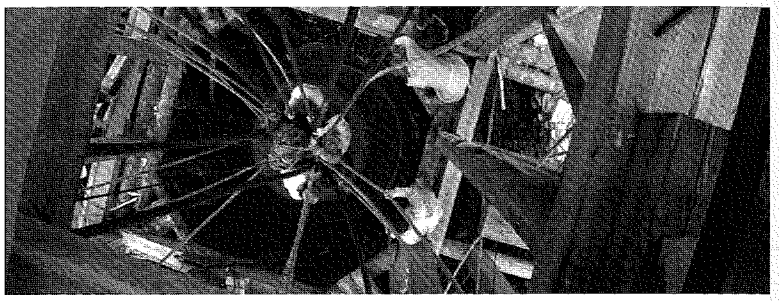
shadows on the wall, as if discovering the camera obscura, but he can no longer see, and his bookishness is punished by the empty obligation to copy out the Scriptures fifteen times; in neither case will mechanical reproduction bring him any closer to understanding. Finally, the holy fool's betrayal of Rublev seems to remove the final barrier keeping him from total despair. Yet, amidst all of this silence, the film's most important single event comes to pass, as the desolation of community and the barrenness of the winter air reveal love to be the only medium capable of holding everything together.

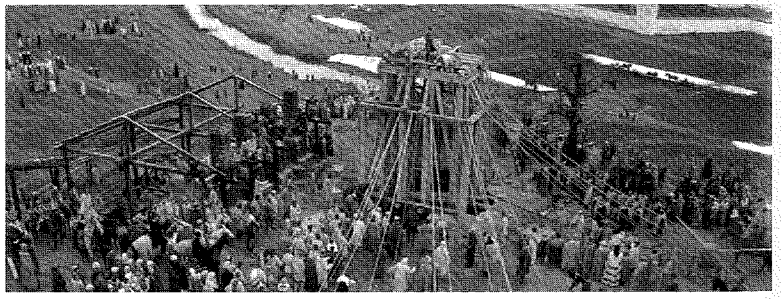
Episode Seven:
The Bell. Spring–Summer–Autumn–Winter–Spring 1423–1424

The title frame announces an eleven-year jump in time. At first Andrei is completely absent from the scene, which focuses instead on Boriska, the bellfounder's son. The plague has taken away all the bellfounders, but Boriska claims to know the 'secret' formula for the metal. The prince's guards reluctantly agree to use him and he soon becomes a tyrannical taskmaster. He orders the pit to be dug in a new place (although he ends up digging it himself, together with his almost mute helpmate Andreika), and leads the men on a seemingly month-long search for the right clay. Back at the pit, he demands more silver from the prince, has Andreika flogged for insubordination, and makes the mould thinner than the others advise. Once, Andrei Rublev gets in his way and Boriska curtly warns him to watch where he's going. Still, after some hellish scenes of the foundry, the bell turns out fine and is raised in the presence of the prince and two bemused Italian dignitaries, who chatter away distractedly amidst the reigning solemnity. If the Tatars' foreign speech exuded the threat of linguistic power, here language is simply superseded by the synaesthetic spectacle of the bell.

Throughout the episode, Andrei has remained a silent but fascinated observer as various plotlines are resolved. We overhear that the younger prince has been executed. The jester reappears, tongueless and embittered by ten years of captivity, and accuses Andrei of having betrayed him. This brings Andrei to the verge of speech and action, but Kirill intervenes to turn drama into farce. Unable to make a clean breast of his actions, Kirill offers himself as a scapegoat for Andrei. In a flashback, Boriska remembers events from earlier in the episode. This short scene is followed by a discontinuous cutaway to Andronikov Monastery, where Kirill once again fails to make a clean account of himself to the silent Andrei and instead launches into a tirade against his younger colleague.







58 At the centre of the universe: all of the plot-lines converge on the bell and its image of St George

Even the reappearance of the holy fool as a noble woman, with horse and child in tow, does not move Andrei. He remains a disembodied gaze, as the people continue their inexorable migration to off-screen right.

Andrei is spurred into action and speech only when Boriska collapses into the mud. Boriska admits that he never knew the secret, but Andrei suggests they both go to the Trinity Monastery to paint icons and cast bells. Boriska sobs, Andrei holds him in a *pietà* embrace, and the camera concentrates its gaze on the embers of a fire, which flicker and, suddenly, are reignited in colour, suspending and fulfilling the narration in a new conflagration.

Epilogue

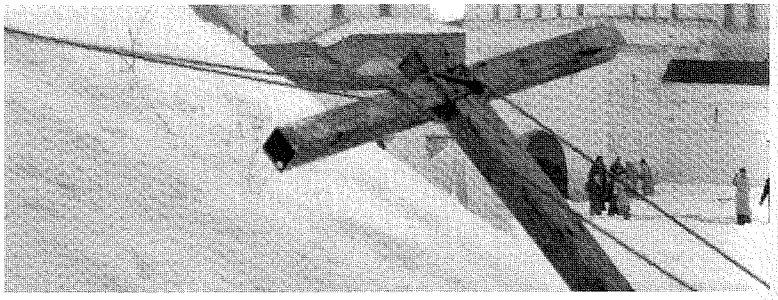
The colour shot of embers dissolves into details from Rublev's icons, among which can be recognised: *The Entry into Jerusalem*, *The Nativity of Christ*, *The Raising of Lazarus*, *The Transfiguration*, and *The Baptism of Christ* and *The Annunciation* (all from the Cathedral of the Annunciation); *The Saviour in the Wood* (from Zvenigorod); and *The Old Testament Trinity* (from the Trinity-St Sergius Monastery). The camera's gaze remains dynamic, mobile, restless, while the choral music retreats into 'Lord Have Mercy', just as it had in the besieged Vladimir cathedral. As in the cathedral, the final image is a further negation of the icon. The icons are splashed by a film of rain which enshrouds the camera and separates it from the four horses which stand unperturbed in the sunlight. This final, apocalyptic image underscores the imperfection of our vision and the sovereign inaccessibility of transcendent beauty. However, the narrative film has led right up to the border of this realm, a border marked by the icon.

A Bell of a Story

Just as the ropes extend out from the bell in all directions, so do all the plotlines converge on the final narrative episode 'The Bell', which weaves all the major voices together and imbues the entire film with a precise logic. Tarkovsky's assistant, Mariia Chugunova, recalls that 'The Bell' 'swung' back and forth between different locations in the final edit.[69] Konchalovsky's recent claim that 'the novella about the bell could replace all of *Rublev*'[70] is typically bombastic, but it is undeniable that 'The Bell' provides a clear shape to the entire preceding narrative. Boriska is the very epitome of a marginal figure: an orphan, disrespectful and indolent, in the end he turns out to have been almost a confidence trickster eager to dispose of the Grand Prince's silver. But it is in the story of his founding of the bell

that *Andrei Rublev* finds its centre. The film itself describes the arc of a bell, leading from the Trinity Monastery back again, and like the bell it is embossed at its centre with the holy violence of St George. The process of constructing the bell can clearly be taken as a metaphor for the making of the movie, which results in a narrative which focuses viewer attention on a distinct centre of meaning, with a clear sense of where the various strands are coming from and how it all could achieve a meaningful end. Just like when Efim pushed off from the church in the Prologue, as the bell is raised we feel the suspense of the decisive moment, brilliantly exploited by Tarkovsky with the sound of the creaking ropes.

In the final sequences of 'The Bell', Tarkovsky's suspended narrative explodes in a narrative suspense which concentrates the exhausted viewer's attention ahead of the final revelation of Rublev's icons. When the bell is rung, it resounds throughout the universe as cosmic celebration of the icon. It is notable that this occurs at the same spot as the crucifixion fantasy in episode two, as if the raising of the bell were a recapitulation and restoration of Christ's sacrifice. The triumph of 'The Bell' leads directly to Andrei's rebirth as a witness and as a painter. Like Boriska, Andrei finally relinquishes agency over his work in order to



Efim flies over the Monastery of the Protection in Suzdal (a shot missing from *The Passion According to Andrei*); The Russian Christ is crucified on the hill across from the same monastery

Boriska marks the spot at the same location; Andrei consoles Boriska at the place of his crucifixion

reveal it to the world. Rublev's very biography – and by extension Tarkovsky's narrative film – has to be incinerated in order for his icons to become visible in an act of witness.

'Andrei Rublev' and 'The Passion According to Andrei'

The open bell-shape of *Andrei Rublev* is confirmed by a detailed comparison of the two edits, which reveal two distinct approaches to the narrative. Despite ample evidence of Tarkovsky's compliance in the re-editing of the original version, the result is a film somewhat at odds with itself and uncomfortable with the very aesthetics of discontinuity which guided its shooting and narrative composition. The removal of some intentionally obscure passages inadvertently introduced others, leaving the film littered with phantoms of the more discontinuous narrative.

The different strategies in the two edits are best illustrated by a single phrase from episode one, uttered by the jester to ridicule the three monks. When Kirill rejects an offer of mead with the words 'Thank you, we don't drink [*Spasibo ne p'ëm*]', the jester retorts with the unfinished rhyming phrase: 'And women we don't ... [*I bab ne ...*]'. In the original edit, the word unspoken has to be supplied by the viewer, leaving open

the degree of vulgarity. In the re-edited version, this very ambiguity was deemed dangerous, and the jester implausibly finishes his phrase with a euphemistic substitute word 'shake' ('*triasëm*'). This pattern indicates the overall strategy of the re-edited version: to remove ambiguities and limit interpretation, even at the cost of flawed narrative logic.

Similarly, in the re-edited version of the Prologue, Tarkovsky introduced an aerial shot of a monastery, as if he wanted the viewer to imagine seeing Andrei somewhere down below, thereby establishing an evident link to the ensuing narrative. On close examination, the monastery is evidently the same one seen in the crucifixion and bell scenes. However, this is a more mysterious and tenuous link than the implicit connections between the Prologue and other instances of flight and ascent in the longer version. Thus surface coherence is won at the price of structural confusion.

Other re-edited sequences are more complex and more egregious. In the longer version, Kirill's visit to Theophanes' workshop ends with a tracking shot of the execution scene outside, with the crowd exiting to screen right; this is followed by the long take (over three minutes in duration) of Kirill in his cell at Andronikov Monastery, with a voice-over reading from Ecclesiastes, after which Foma enters, suffers verbal abuse, leaves and then returns to announce the eagerly awaited arrival of the Grand Prince's messenger, who invites Andrei instead of Kirill. The long take of Kirill in his cell is so ambiguous that it may even cause one to view the preceding scene of Kirill's conversation with Theophanes as the product of Kirill's imagination; perhaps he is dismissing his whimsical dream of a conversation with Theophanes as a 'vanity of vanities'.[71] The order of the shots is markedly different in the re-edited version. The scene at Theophanes' workshop ends with a long take of Kirill in front of an icon, which overlaps with the sound of the messenger proclaiming the invitation to Moscow in the monastery courtyard. It is only after Andrei accepts the invitation, argues with Daniil and tells his young helpers to prepare for the journey, that we see Kirill in his cell. On the surface, the new order makes more sense insofar as Kirill's ambitious dreaming at Theophanes' workshop runs right into the destruction of his hopes, after which he is shown brooding on the nature of vanity. But this narrative causality is purchased at the price of new discrepancies: for example, there is no explanation of why Foma enters Kirill's cell when he should be preparing to leave for Moscow.

A similar rearrangement was performed with Kirill's other major scene when he returns to Andronikov Monastery in episode six. At one

point, Kirill is shown staring at shadows projected upside-down on the monastery wall, as if in a camera obscura. He then looks at the light which pierces the boarded window, which looks for all the world like an unpainted icon board and raises intriguing possibilities: perhaps Kirill's vision is limited to shadows, or perhaps his artistic impotency is complemented by a conscious understanding of the principles of art (in one interview, Tarkovsky compares him to Pushkin's Salieri, who 'verified harmony with algebra').[72] At the end of this shot, we hear a monk welcoming the abbot, who is then shown entering the scene. This sequence is made conspicuous precisely by its isolation and unresolved ambiguity. Shortened and rearranged, in the re-edit this scene is rendered less conspicuous but more opaque. Kirill's glance at the window is accompanied by crowd noise from the monastery yard, to which the action then cuts away. It is as if Kirill is looking, not for the source of the shadows, but rather, for the source of the commotion outside. The enigmatic shots remain in place but lose their connection to the theme of Kirill's vision, which is what made sense of them in the first place.

The narrative logic of the original version was closer to that of the screenplays. In episode seven 'Love' (which, in the 185-minute version, becomes episode eight 'Silence'), Andrei is shown lugging scalding stones across the monastery courtyard with a pair of large tongs. In the 1964 screenplay, Andrei drops one rock in a barrel of water and picks up another, but he drops it and has to put it back in the fire to reheat it before grabbing it again. Carrying it with obvious discomfort, he once again drops it short of the barrel: 'hissing with satisfaction, it rolls into a stream'. As if in one of Samuel Beckett's short plays, the screenplay directs: 'Andrei returns to the fire and everything starts over'.[73] In an earlier version, Andrei's ordeal with the stone occupies much more text, but makes no more sense.[74] In the original edit of the film, the event is shown in three shots. First, Andrei takes a stone with tongs and then, in the following shot, drops it. After almost ten eventful minutes of screen time, during which the holy fool is abducted, a long take shows Andrei picking up another stone. Here the scene retains the enigmas of the screenplay while stressing the futility of Andrei's labour. In the re-edited version, however, after Andrei picks up the first stone, the scene immediately shifts to the abduction of the holy fool, after which Andrei is shown picking up a second stone and dropping it. The new order suggests that Andrei drops the second stone in a display of disappointment; however it fails to explain why he is lugging the stones in the first place. Thus the shorter version introduces apparent narrative causality which

imposes a simplistic explanation on the sequence. The result is liable to mystify the thoughtful viewer even more. The original version is also more consistent with Tarkovsky's other films; for instance, in its original form the scene bears a clear resemblance to Andrei Gorchakov's carrying of the candle at the end of *Nostalghia* (1984).

It is notable that the gravest victims of the re-edit were Kirill, Foma, and Boriska, who are Andrei's main rivals for the centre of the film's narrative. Clearly, Tarkovsky decided to focus attention more squarely on Andrei instead of dividing viewers' allegiance and attention among the cast. In addition, Tarkovsky heavily amended those scenes which called into question the reliability of Andrei's vision. For example, the loss of two shots at the end of 'The Festival' obscures the use of three different actresses while doing nothing to explain the character's changing form. Perhaps she is more likely to be taken simply as the woman with whom Andrei has had a sexual encounter, an interpretation that itself is made more plausible by the use of a dissolve between Marfa's second appearance and the shot of the village the morning after. In the original version, the escaping woman is an amalgam of all the women who have tempted Andrei during the night. When linked to the end of 'The Bell', this suggests that the inexplicable transformation of the holy fool into a noble woman may also be chalked up to Andrei's transformed gaze more than to her own person.[75] In the re-edited version, these two scenes are simply inexplicable puzzles which obscure, rather than strengthen, the film's discourse on the transformation of Andrei's vision into witness.

 A dissolve added to the re-edited version of the film completes the story of Andrei's temptation

4

THE ELEVATING GAZE

In addition to all of his technical and stylistic experimentation, Tarkovsky also used *Andrei Rublev* as a theoretical laboratory. Tarkovsky's first major essay on film, 'Imprinted Time', was published in 1967 even as *Andrei Rublev* was becoming mired in the bureaucratic slough. However, Tarkovsky's central concern throughout this and subsequent essays was not so much the issue of artistic freedom as the distinctiveness of cinema vis-à-vis literature and painting, which he defined with reference to its temporality: 'I think what a person normally goes to the cinema for is *time*; for time lost or spent or not yet had. He goes there for living experience'.[76] Tarkovsky does not mean that cinema can provide vicarious experience, but rather that it can illumine and deepen the viewer's sense of real time by depicting an abstract temporal form which must be filled in with emotional content.

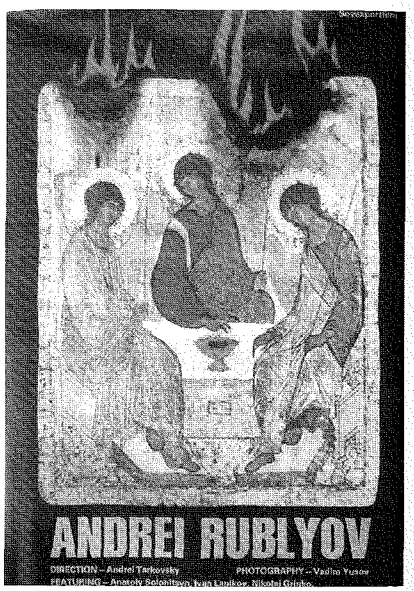
Like Sergei Eisenstein before him, Tarkovsky decried attempts to import into cinema narrative or representational methods from the more established arts. Nonetheless, one of the hallmarks of Tarkovsky's film-making was his conscious participation in traditions of representation, from Leonardo da Vinci and Albrecht Dürer to Eisenstein and Robert Bresson. *Andrei Rublev* conducts an especially intense discourse on the different ways to visualise spiritual reality, among which it privileges the icon as both a locus and an agent of spiritual vision. However, the film only gestures towards the icon without itself trying to become iconic. Tarkovsky's use of Rublev's icons is emblematic of his use of other people's creative work. Just as Tarkovsky 'burns' the narrative of Rublev's life in order to reveal his icons anew, so does he form an original cinematic world out of the ashes of his predecessors' words and images by engaging in an intense interchange with viewers' memories and perceptions.

Cinema

Cinema provided Tarkovsky with an ambivalent tradition for the kind of spiritual film he wanted to make. As he noted later on, 'cinema was born [...] at the fairground with the goal of pure profit'.[77] To be sure, there are numerous points of contact between *Andrei Rublev* and popular film genres. It is, after all, a biographical film named for its hero, which follows the basic pattern of his recorded deeds while introducing a sort of

love interest and a secret crime. Tarkovsky was always fond of *Chapaev* (1934), and was proud when a survey of critics named *Andrei Rublev* as the best Soviet film since this socialist realist classic.[78] To a Western viewer, the depopulated widescreen expanses may call to mind Sergio Leone, making Tarkovsky's tale a monastic equivalent of *The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly* (1966). A Soviet publicity poster for *Andrei Rublev* made the film's structural similarity to the Western a point of sale.[79] Tarkovsky was, after all, an artist of the cinema and shared more with D. W. Griffith than with the historical Rublev, even if he hoped to establish new possibilities for cinematic discourse about spirituality.

For a film about an Orthodox monk there are few outward signs of piety; most provocatively, only the jester and the pagans make the sign of the cross, something Russian Orthodox believers normally do with great frequency. This reflects Tarkovsky's sensitivity to the conventional limits of film. In pre-revolutionary Russia, there was a legal prohibition on religious images in the cinema, since the medium itself was deemed profane.[80] However, after 1917, the cinema struck a fast alliance with the militantly atheist, Soviet state and became a valued tool of anti-religious propaganda. In addition to Vertov's 1919 cine-chronicle of the desecration of St Sergius' relics and Iurii Tarich's voluptuous monks in *The Wings of*

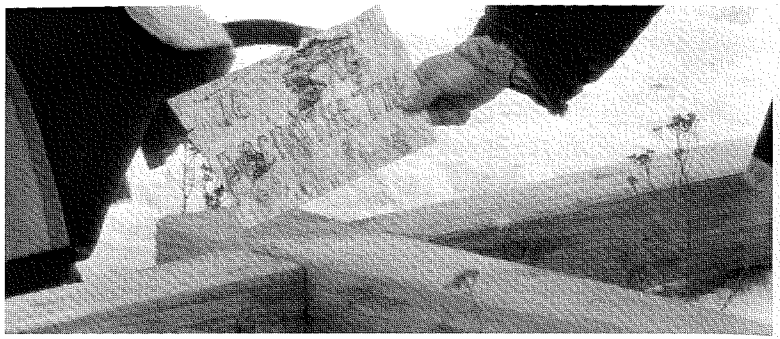


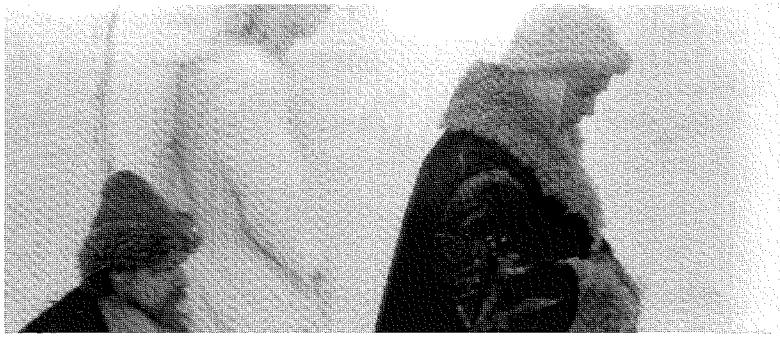
66 Slowhand Andrei (publicity poster, 1969); the film as an incinerated icon (foreign-release publicity poster, 1969)

a Serf, there are prominent anti-religious sequences in Eisenstein's *The Old and the New* (1929) and Vertov's *Donbass Symphony* (aka *Enthusiasm*, 1930). The tension between film and religion was symbolised by the frequent conversion of confiscated churches into cinemas. It might be said that Tarkovsky took the Church back into the cinema.

There were precedents for Tarkovsky's endeavour. Iakov Protazanov took advantage of the brief interlude between the two revolutions of 1917 to produce *Father Sergius* (1918), adapted from a late story by Lev Tolstoy in which an officer enters a monastery, resists the sexual provocation of a society woman he used to know, but then viciously takes advantage of a retarded girl entrusted to his care. Rublev's temptation by Marfa and his relationship with the holy fool reverse Tolstoy's pattern, suggesting a contrast between Rublev's hesitant humility and Father Sergius' hypocrisy. Much as he was loath to admit it, Tarkovsky also owed an obvious debt to Eisenstein's two historical films, *Alexander Nevsky* (1938) and *Ivan the Terrible* (1944–47). There are numerous specific borrowings; for instance, both the ascetic profile of the abbot of Andronikov Monastery and the idea of a sudden switch from black-and-white to colour are taken from *Ivan the Terrible*. However, there are broader stylistic similarities, such as the shocking scenes of graphic cruelty which hearken back to the slaughtered cow in *Strike* or the immolated infant in *Alexander Nevsky*. They also underscore the contiguity of religious ritual and film as means of intervening in the structures of political and spiritual power. Openly antagonistic towards Eisenstein, Tarkovsky was more willing to admit the inspiration he drew from the earthy textures of Aleksandr Dovzhenko, whose pioneering use of long takes and sparse, natural landscapes achieved a spiritual tonality which defied his ideological stance. Vsevolod Pudovkin also created naturalistic textures which influenced Tarkovsky; the shots of Boriska sliding down the clay cliff are remarkably similar to the World War I trenches in Pudovkin's *The End of St Petersburg*; in both cases, the screen becomes a wall of mud which absorbs the frail human subject.

As Tarkovsky prepared his project for production, he also had several more recent precedents in mind. First, there was Jerzy Kawalerowicz's *Mother Joan of the Angels* (1961), which according to Vadim Iusov impressed Tarkovsky with its use of cross-shaped compositional structures.[81] There were the films of Carl Theodor Dreyer, from *The Passion of St Joan of Arc* (1928) to *Ordet* (1954), with their bare, rigid narratives and sets. Of his contemporaries, Ingmar Bergman, Akira Kurosawa and Federico Fellini all left an indelible mark





on Tarkovsky's complex narrative structures and innovative technique. However, the greatest immediate influence on Tarkovsky was probably Robert Bresson, whom Tarkovsky often acknowledged as his favourite director. In *The Diary of a Country Priest* (1950), Bresson provided a model for depicting the inner experience of a religious man without overstepping the possibilities of the mechanical medium. The spiritual film addresses itself to a reality which avowedly cannot be depicted on screen. Like Bresson, Tarkovsky made his film an exercise in depicting the invisible, which can only take shape beyond the frame through the agency of the viewer. The basis of this innovatory style is the use of the camera to suspend the event in the act of its being regarded by others, which undermines the subject's sovereign viewpoint. The resulting focus on the sparse textures of experience bares the temporality (even mortality) of each image. The lack of a clear centre within the cinematic world forms the act of viewership into a bearing of witness, in the sense of both sympathetic observation and testimonial narrative which must continue after the collapse of the event.

The inscription on the cross reads, as on an icon, 'Jesus Christ, the crucifixion of Our Lord'; the incongruent angels in the background of the crucifixion scene

Painting

Tarkovsky was clearly fascinated by the spatial form of certain paintings and by their role in cultural memory, speaking at times of the way painterly models can lend authenticity to the cinematic image. The most explicit quotation of painting in *Andrei Rublev* is of Pieter Bruegel the Elder. In episode two, Bruegel's *Road to Calvary* (1564)is merged with his winter landscapes to produce the melancholy scene of the Russian Golgotha. There is an undeniable affinity between Tarkovsky's and Bruegel's use of active backgrounds within a full frame. The foreground action can easily become subordinated to what is occurring in the background, or else it turns into a background as a new foreground emerges. Tarkovsky also associated this polycentric world with the Venetian Renaissance painter, Vittore Carpaccio: '[*E*]*ach* of the characters in Carpaccio's crowded composition is a centre. If you concentrate on any one figure you begin to see with unmistakable clarity that everything else is mere context, background, built up like a kind of pedestal for this "incidental" character'.[82]

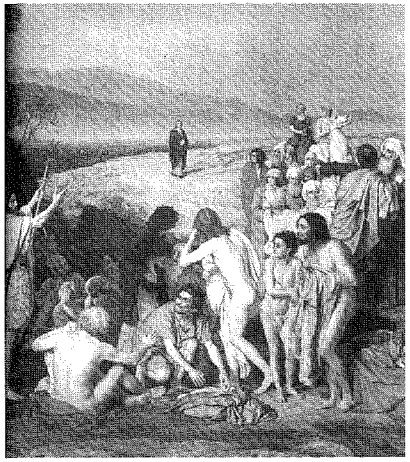
In the crucifixion scene, however, Tarkovsky's borrowings go far beyond Bruegel's compositional technique. First, the scene cannot be seen as a straightforward dramatisation of the Gospel narrative in a Russian setting. In addition to the Bruegel citation, the board which is nailed to the cross clearly reads 'Jesus Christ, the Crucifixion of Our Lord', which corresponds not to the Gospels but to the inscription on the Orthodox icon of the crucifixion. Therefore the vision is not of the crucifixion as such, but of its traditional representation on an icon. Further, the scene cannot be seen as an exemplary visualisation of the event, in part due to its uncharacteristically melodramatic acting.[83] The dubious-looking angels also suggest that it should be viewed not as an authentic spiritual vision, but rather as a test of different representational models which must be burned up in the icon painter's visual experience in order to give rise to a true image. The film-maker, like the icon painter, cannot simply copy models, but must experience them as his own life and as tests of vision, in order that the true image emerge from their traces.

A similarly studied use of painting can be observed in the next episode 'The Festival'. Here, instead of imagining Christ, Rublev imagines himself *as* Christ, appropriating for the purpose several modern Russian canvases on religious subjects. Rejoining his colleagues the morning after his nocturnal adventure, he strikes a pose which is strikingly reminiscent of that of Christ in Russia's most famous religious painting of modern times, Aleksandr Ivanov's *Presentation of Christ to the People*

Andrei returns from his temptation in 'The Festival'

Andrei is rebuked by his colleagues

The crew continues its journey



Aleksandr Ivanov, *The Appearance of Christ to the People* (1837–57)

Ivan Kramskoi, *Christ in the Desert* (1872)

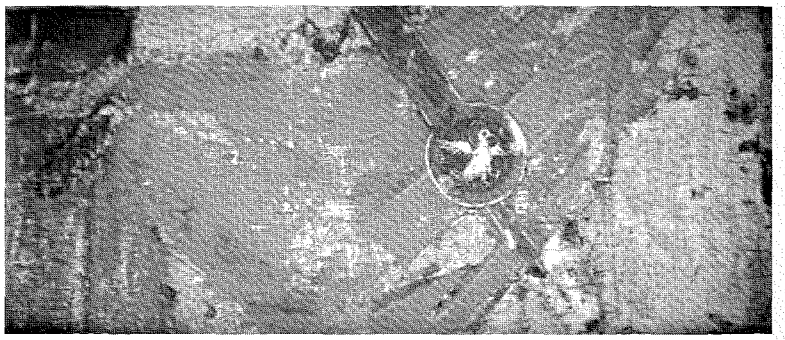
Mikhail Nesterov, *Silence* (1903)

(1837–57). When he kneels down to pull an onion out of the fire, he copies Christ in a later and more naturalistic canvas by Ivan Kramskoi, *Christ in the Wilderness* (1872). Finally, as the monks paddle away downstream, they are reminiscent of Mikhail Nesterov's *Silence* (1903), one of his quaint nationalistic stereotypes of Russian spirituality filled with what Tarkovsky called 'saccharine sentimentality'.[84] As in the crucifixion scene, the effect of these quotations is the recapitulation and, most likely, rejection, of the modern Russian traditions of religious painting, which however must be internalised by the artist and superseded in a new expression. Rublev's pose as Christ bestows upon his colleagues the role of witnesses. In this scene, the camera dwells with especial attention on the gazes of Petr and Foma; since both of them perish that same year, their puzzled, yearning looks are especially poignant. The suggestion is that, thus far at least, Andrei has remained too concerned with how *he* is viewed by others and has yet to attain the status of witness to his world.

In sum, Tarkovsky is clearly aware of his own dependence upon modern conventions of representing religious tradition, but his citations are overshadowed by his almost titanic struggle to gain authentic visual access to Rublev's era both through and in spite of, these inherited images. Central to this struggle is Tarkovsky's appropriation of the icon, not as a picture of how things once looked, but as a record of how people have viewed their own hopes, beliefs, and fears.

Icon

Tarkovsky's cinematic and painterly precedents are all fuel for the conflagration which renews and reveals the icon, an icon which is both ubiquitous and tantalisingly absent in *Andrei Rublev*. It is present as a common object of the characters' daily lives – in workshops, in monastic

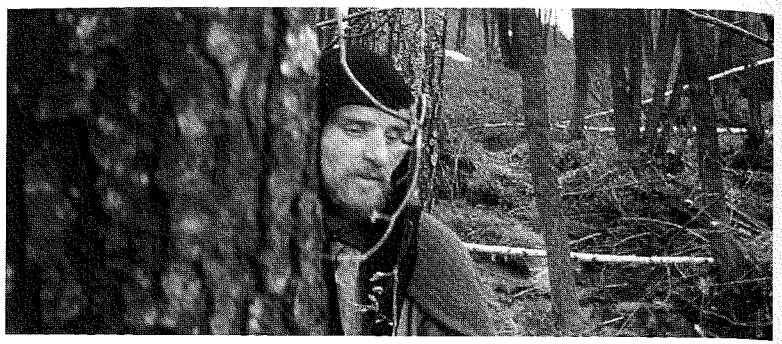


Attributed to Andrei Rublev, *The Annunciation* (detail), Annunciation Cathedral (Moscow)

cells, in charred palaces and, of course, in the churches, where it is venerated by believers, puzzled at by the Tatar marauders and burnt in acts of vengeance. However, as an object of Rublev's activity and of our own regard, it remains beyond the scope of the film. In fact, the icon can only be restored in its full significance beyond the possibilities of filmic narrative.

The film needs almost to liberate itself from the icon's influence before it can present the icon in its majestic sovereignty. The two most frequently cited icons are *The Annunciation* and *The Miracle of St George and the Dragon*. The only detail shown of the Annunciation icon in the Epilogue is the descent of the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove, enclosed in a ray of divine light. This image echoes the many incidences of white birds fluttering down into the frame. The icon in the Epilogue retrospectively marks the birds not only as a visual device, but also as manifestations of the Holy Spirit. However, the birds grace not only scenes of magic, but also ones of desolation. Even greater moral ambivalence marks the icon of St George, which is the only one Andrei handles after it has been burnt in the Grand Prince's palace. The Grand Prince glances at the icon just after he sends Stepan out to blind the stonemasons, as if comprehending the diabolical similarity between St George's spiritual labour and his impending crime. The negative echoes of St George continue in 'The Raid', where Russian and Tatar alike take up the saint's pose. In this way, the desecrated icon of St George is revealed as a pattern for the apocalypse, from which humanity's cruel overlords trace their actions. However, Boriska salvages St George by imprinting his image onto his triumphal bell. Boriska's violent firing and smashing of the cast renews the image itself, showing that, as with the

'Iconic framings': the martyr Patrikei ...



burnt icons in Vladimir, it must be incinerated in order to reveal its tracing of eternal truth.

A similar pattern can be discerned in Tarkovsky's iconic compositions. As a backdrop, the icon acts as a kind of halo for characters. In episode two, Theophanes stands in front of an unpainted icon board as if impressing his own image onto it, while Kirill is positioned as the inquisitive and inquisitorial viewer who seeks to unlock the icon's inaccessible secrets by force. In episode five, Patrikei is tied to a bench which is stood on end against a cathedral wall, as if posing for the icon which would be painted of him after his impending martyrdom. In other scenes, Tarkovsky uses the landscape to frame the human image in a kind of natural icon. In episode two, the camera tracks around Andrei in the forest enclosing his face in two trees, suggesting a similarity between him and his icon, *The Saviour in the Wood*. When Andrei follows the holy fool out of the cathedral at the end of 'Last Judgement', they stand together in front of a lonely tree and building which together are suggestive of the

... Rublev in the wood; the holy fool transformed

background on Rublev's *Trinity*. The *Trinity* is also suggested by the threesome of monks who leave the Trinity Monastery, arrive at the peasant hut, and then reappear in the two flashbacks of the three monks gathering under an oak tree. In the screenplays, another such connection is made explicit: Rublev conceives of his *Trinity* while regarding three peasants drinking at a table (one turns out to be Boriska); in a flashback, Andrei recalls a childhood experience when 'he was for the first time touched by the desire to communicate this movement, to stop it and repeat it, a movement so clear and distinct'. Suddenly, 'the simplest and most everyday things were revealed to Andrei in their innermost meaning', and the three peasants are revealed as a trinity, 'indivisible, balancing each other, frozen in wise contemplation, and the bright sun is caught by the boy's unkempt hair in a golden halo'. Andrei traces out his future composition and whispers to himself, 'Send me death, Lord!'[85] In the completed film, Tarkovsky refrains from such obvious linkages. It is notable that Andrei witnesses none of the examples of

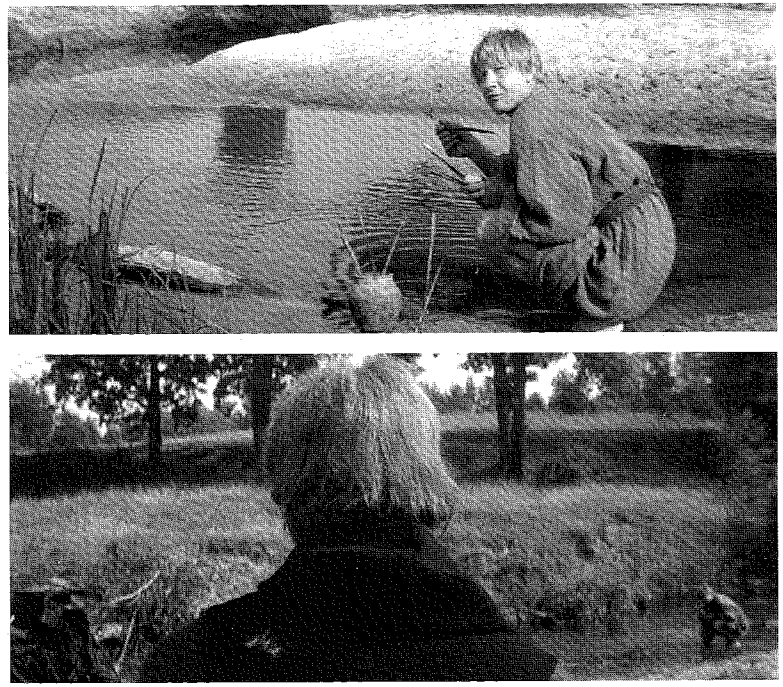
The final procession; Andrei Rublev, Procession of the Righteous Women, detail from *The Last Judgement* (1408), Dormition Cathedral (Vladimir)

iconic framing I have noted. Instead, only the viewer can recognise the 'innermost meaning' of things' shape and movement, and decide where to place the limits to this interpretive operation. Thus a viewer familiar with the frescoes in Vladimir might explain the constant movement of characters from left to right by relating it to the *The Procession of the Righteous Women*, attributed to Andrei Rublev and Daniil the Monk. These examples form a pattern whereby the narrative inhabits the icon's shadows and seems to imitate its very shape as a window on the beyond. The proliferation of doors and windows also contributes to the impression that the frame is pushing the viewer through to the other side. Like the icon, Tarkovsky's world has no privileged centre but is unified by an invisible, off-screen destination, which becomes the real focus of the viewer's attention. Just as Andrei's artistic gaze is shaped by the stares of others, so the film elevates the viewer's gaze into a form of bearing witness.

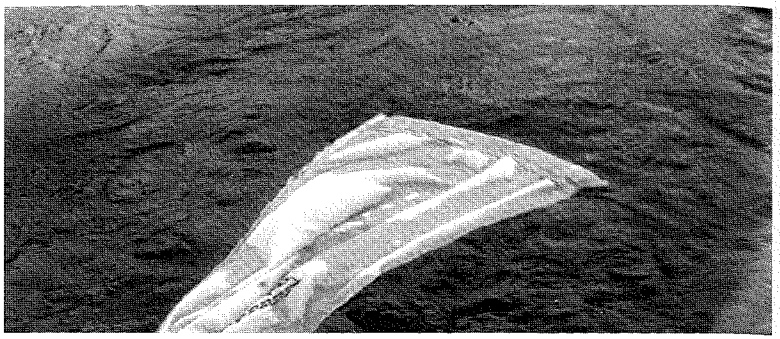
At this point, Tarkovsky's cinematic image becomes quite similar to Pavel Florensky's conception of the icon in several respects. Viewing physical reality as rooted in a forcefield of spiritual energies, Florensky held the icon to be a direct expression of divinity, either in the person of Christ or via the mediation of a saint whose person was imbued with Christ's grace. The surface of the icon is therefore a locus of exchange between transcendent reality and the world, both a worldly window onto heaven and a heavenly mirror image of the world. This may sound alien to a modern ear, but what Florensky valued most in religion was precisely its adherence to truths beyond the laws of reason, which fail to account for human reality. He played with the dualism of science and belief, claiming that the idea of the triune God was 'a kind of square root of 2, that is, an irrational number'.[86] The icon was for him the pre-eminent means by which irrational truths can be expressed; he boldly declared, for instance, that 'the most persuasive philosophical proof of God's existence is the one the textbooks never mention [...]: There exists the icon of the Holy Trinity by Andrei Rublev; therefore, God exists.'[87] Cherishing aporias and discontinuities as irruptions of eternity into our world, Florensky attached great significance to the peculiarities of iconic composition (which to this day are sometimes dismissed as artistic naivety and backwardness). As a visible image of the invisible realm, the icon is filled with spatial and temporal discontinuities which are tangible traces of the compression of spiritual reality into two dimensions. These discontinuities decentre and destabilise the viewer's sovereign point of view. Other discontinuities are caused by the depiction of eternal reality

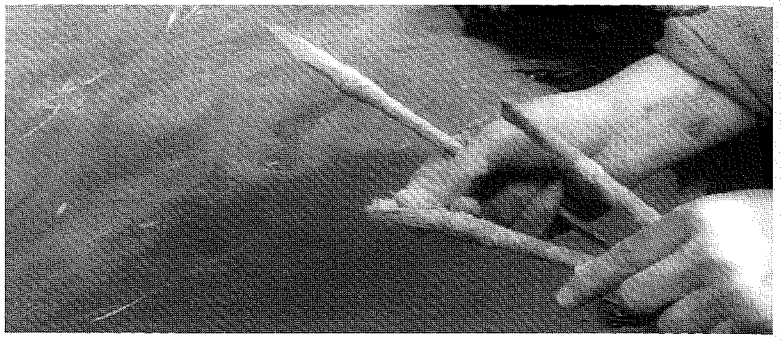
in terms of earthly time. The icon compresses temporal sequence into a composite moment, showing the Christ child with his adult face, or depicting Mary twice – as a corpse and as an eternal soul – in the icon of the Dormition. Just as a remembered dream sometimes ends with the event which logically caused it (e.g., a dreamed crime culminating in a police siren which turns out to be belong to a police car wailing outside your window), so also the icon is a space in which time can flow backwards from effect to cause.

There are just such reversals of time in *Andrei Rublev*. The most tantalising example is the crucifixion sequence in episode two. The long take which precedes it begins at Foma's eyeline and rises with him as he stands up, suggesting that the point of view in this scene belongs to him. The camera then shifts its focus to Andrei and Theophanes, but Foma is still visible at the water's edge. From Andrei's head, the action cuts straight to the white cloth flowing in the water, which is revealed to be the first shot of the crucifixion scene. The scene ends with a cut back to Foma's face, as he crouches at the water's edge and dips his paintbrushes



Foma washing the brushes; Andrei's head with Foma at river's edge





in the stream, setting white specks flowing away. The similarity between this shot and the first shot of the crucifixion scene allows one to read both as representations of the same event seen by Foma first in his fantasy and then in real time. In other words, Foma's fantasy of the crucifixion sequence is formed by an event which actually follows it in earthly temporality, that of the washing of the brushes. The iconic inscription on the cross suggests that the fantasy is linked to Foma's imagining of an icon: what he sees in a momentary flash of inspiration, the film can depict only as a sequential narrative in earthly time, which arches back to its starting point.

Florensky's insight was that the icon requires an active viewer who, like Foma, works to array the discontinuous image into a meaningful narrative. He himself linked this insight to the possibilities of cinematic montage, which may 'require the greatest spiritual effort, while the unity it communicates will be contemplated by a spiritual gaze, not at all by a sensual gaze'.[88] For Tarkovsky also, the cinema is like the icon in that it

78 The first shot of the crucifixion scene; Foma washing brushes at the end of the episode

can educate the eye to see the invisible, but in this case the invisible is itself the icon, obscured by history and cultural forgetfulness.

The Icon and the Apocalypse

For Florensky, the icon is a snapshot of the apocalypse. It owes its truth not to the skill of the artist, but to the fullness of the reality it depicts, a reality which contains all of time, all of space, all of human endeavour and iniquity. It directs the viewer's gaze towards eternity not as some distant future, but as the heart of today. Perhaps the most common trait in the icon is the saint's gaze outwards, into the world. It is said that, instead of painting over the frescoes of Hagia Sophia, the invading Turks simply put out their eyes. The fear of this gaze from beyond the grave is what causes us instinctively to close the eyes of our dead. Tarkovsky himself often seems mortified by this gaze and preoccupied with the collapse of his fragile vision. A poet of the earth and other primal elements, Tarkovsky's world is always in a state of crisis and perhaps even extinction. Vadim Iusov tells of how Tarkovsky sought out dead forests for locations in *Ivan's Childhood* and *Andrei Rublev*. The ubiquitous rainfall in his films is uncannily inconstant. Tarkovsky's own characters are aware of these distortions; at the end of 'The Raid' Andrei tells Theophanes, 'Nothing is more terrifying than when snow falls in a church'.

In episode four, Andrei's anxiety over the looming apocalypse becomes the centre of his creative persona. It is in many respects a false dilemma; the icon painter is not at liberty to adapt his compositions to personal preference, and any visitor to Vladimir can attest to the fact that the historical Rublev succeeded in painting the Last Judgement frescoes. But if hitherto Rublev has held his painting to an absolute standard, the treacherous raid demonstrates the icon's more worldly aspect. This is confirmed by Theophanes' words when he pays Rublev a visit from beyond the grave in the desecrated church. Although he is now face to face with God, he cannot tear his eyes off the singed icons: 'Still, it's all so beautiful!'

Henceforth the purity of vision is no longer Andrei's paramount concern. 'Love' is the title of the following episode and the name of what comes to replaces both the eye and the brush in his life. This had been foreshadowed by Andrei's reading from St Paul in episode four: 'Love never fails. But whether there are prophecies, they will fail; whether there are tongues, they will cease; whether there is knowledge, it will vanish away' (I Corinthians 13: 9). Over the course of episodes four and five, prophecies do fail and Andrei is abandoned by his faith. His silence

signals the cessation of language, and his disavowal of painting – the disappearance of knowledge. Love is not an instantaneous achievement; Andrei is unable to deal with the holy fool in a compassionate and understanding manner. He will never be able to reconcile himself to Kirill, who to the end remains embittered by Andrei's skill and entranced by Andrei's impenetrable soul. But after years of silence, Andrei does learn to see in love, which means accepting communication as the limit of his art. 'Such a joy you have created for people', he tells Boriska. This limitation transfigures Boriska into a bellfounder, the holy fool into a noble matriarch, and Andrei – into an icon painter.

The glorious exhibition of icons in the Epilogue to the film is not the overcoming of earthly limitations or the cancellation of the narrative. The viewer never gains a clear and total vision of Rublev's icons, which are presented in motion and in part, and they are not the film's final word. If colour film really implies 'fiction', as Tarkovsky claimed, then at this moment the fiction almost bursts its limits and becomes a real fact of the viewer's inner life. The final shot is a benign apocalypse, the four horses freed from their hellish riders. But our vision of it is still not total and we must now rid ourselves of the grainy film which envelops these final realities.

The film, in the end, does not break through to eternal stillness and transcendent truth. It remains bound by time and by the camera's limited – if liberated – perspective. But this is a time pregnant with eternity, an emptiness pregnant with meaning, and a fiction which is pregnant with the icon.

At a 1984 appearance in London, Tarkovsky pronounced 'A Discourse on the Apocalypse', a free-ranging discussion of St John's *Revelation*, modern art and art in general, Dostoevsky and Carlos Castañeda, death and love. He dwelt especially on the opening of the seventh seal on the scroll of divine knowledge: 'When He [the Lamb] opened the seventh seal, there was silence in heaven for about half an hour' (Revelations 8:1). Tarkovsky comments, 'What can any artist say about the way this is expressed? How can one express both the tension and the threshold? How improbable! The absence of an image is in this case the most powerful image one can imagine. It's a miracle!'[89] It would be easy to dismiss Tarkovsky's amateur exegesis as the sanctimonious twaddle of a self-indulgent auteur. However, my inclination here, as it has been throughout this essay, is to take seriously Tarkovsky's use of religious texts and images. Here, Tarkovsky's citation of this unimaginable image

of angelic silence suggests a paradigm for understanding his own films. It is not that the uneasy calm of *Andrei Rublev* expresses heavenly silence on the threshold of suffering; the desolation of the film is too unforgiving. However, his closing words in this speech suggest another framework for his religious and apocalyptic film-making: 'I haven't meant to reveal anything new. Thinking about this in your presence in this way, I simply wanted to feel the importance of this moment and this process; and I received what I desired.'[90]

NOTES

1 Andrei Tarkovsky, *Sculpting in Time*, trans. Kitty Hunter-Blair (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986), p. 89.
2 Andrei Tarkovsky, *Time within Time. The Diaries 1970–1986*, trans. Kitty Hunter-Blair (London: Faber and Faber, 1994), pp. 122, 74.
3 Alexei Solonitsyn, 'Film as Magic', trans. Paula Garb, *About Andrei Tarkovsky* (Moscow: Progress, 1990) pp. 96–105; Andrei Tarkovsky, 'Andrei Rublyov and the XX Century', *Soviet Film* 8 (1965), pp. 10–13.
4 Tarkovsky, *Time within Time*, pp. 46, 54.
5 Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, 'Fil'm o Rubleve', *Publitsistika. V trekh tomakh* (Iaroslavl': Verkhniaia Volga, 1997), vol. 3, pp. 157–67: 157.
6 Andrei Tarkovskii, 'Iskat' i dobivat'sia,' *Sovetskii ekran* no. 17, 1962, pp. 9, 20: 9.
7 Tarkovskii, 'Iskat' i dobivat'sia,' p. 20.
8 Historical documentation on Andrei Rublev is cited from: V. N. Lazarev, *Andrei Rublev i ego shkola* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1966), pp. 75–8.
9 Lazarev, *Andrei Rublev*, p. 77.
10 See V. Pribytkov, *Andrei Rublev* (Moscow: Moldaia gvardiia, 1960), especially pp. 103, 141–55.
11 Il'ia Glazunov, *Nasha kul'tura – eto traditsiia* (Moscow: Sovremennik, 1991), p. 180.
12 On this legend see: V. P. Kozlov, *Tainy fal'sifikatsii: Analiz poddelok istoricheskikh istochnikov XVIII–XIX vekov* (Moscow: Aspekt-Press, 1996), pp. 182–5.
13 Andrei Tarkovskii, Andrei Konchalovskii, 'Andrei Rublev', *Iskusstvo kino* no. 5 (1964), pp. 126–58: 126. Here, the scene opens the second part of the film and precedes the scene filmed as 'Love'; in the translated screenplay, the flying peasant occurs in a Prologue preceded by a shot of Andrei (Andrei Tarkovsky, *Andrei Rublev*, trans. Kitty Hunter-Blair, with an introduction by Philip Strick [London: Faber and Faber, 1991], pp. 7–8).
14 Tarkovsky, *Sculpting in Time*, p. 80.
15 Tarkovsky, *Sculpting in Time*, p. 80.
16 Maya Turovskaya, *Tarkovsky. Cinema as Poetry*, trans. Natasha Ward, ed. and with an introduction by Ian Christie (London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1989), p. 37; cf. Andrei Voznesensky, *Antimiry. Izbrannaia lirika* (Moscow: Molodaia gvardiia, 1964), p. 208.
17 Voznesensky, 'Rublevskoe shosse', in *Antimiry*, pp. 10, 176.
18 Voznesensky, 'I Am in Shushenskoe' ('Ia v Shushenskom', 1963), in *Antimiry*, p. 162. Voznesensky later wrote a poem on Tarkovsky; see 'The White Sweater', trans. Mark Buser, *About Andrei Tarkovsky*, pp. 27–31.
19 Nikolai Glazkov, *Poetograd: stikhi* (Moscow: Molodaia gvardia, 1962), pp. 128–9.
20 Fedor Dostoevsky, *A Writer's Diary*, vol. 1, trans. Kenneth Lantz and with an introductory study by Gary Saul Morson (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1993) vol. 1: p. 651.
21 For example, in an interview published 10 December 1966, soon after the screening of the 205 minute cut, Iurii Nikulin called the film '*The Passion According to Andrei* (*Andrei Rublev*)'; B. Velitsyn, '10 let v kino, ne schitaia tsirka,' *Moskovskii komsomolets* 10 December 1966. In his later memoir Nikulin laments the loss of the earlier title; Iurii Nikulin, 'Strasti po Andreiu', *Pochti ser'ezno . . .* (Moscow: Terra, 1994), pp. 550–2.
22 Andrei Konchalovskii, *Nizkie istiny* (Moscow: Sovershenno sekretno, 1998), pp. 123ff.
23 Andrei Tarkovskii, 'Eto ochen' vazhno', *Literaturnaia gazeta*, 20 September 1962, p. 1. Tarkovsky refers to a decree of the Council of People's Commissars (*Sovnarkom*) dated 30 July 1918, which lists individuals of various callings to whom monuments should be erected; Rublev is the first of seven Russian artists listed.
24 Andrei Tarkovskii, 'Spor o geroiakh', *Komsomol'skaia pravda*, 13 September 1962, p. 4.
25 *Andrei Tarkovskii: Arkhivy. Dokumenty. Vospominaniia*, ed. P. D. Volkova (Moscow: Eksmo-Press, 2002), p. 364; Philip Strick, 'The Re-Shaping of Rublëv', in A. Tarkovsky (ed.), *Andrei Rublev*, trans. Kitty Hunter Blair (London: Faber and Faber, 1991), p. viii (see also 'Translator's note' on p. 3 of this edition).
26 Georgii Kunitsyn, 'K istorii *Andreia Rubleva*', in *O Tarkovskom*, ed. M. A. Tarkovskaia (Moscow: Dedalus, 2002), pp. 414–417.
27 See Tarkovsky's comments on *War and Peace* in *Sculpting in Time*, pp. 41, 56; Aleksandr Lipkov, 'Strasti po Andreiu', *Literaturnoe obozrenie*, no. 9 1988, pp. 74–80: 75. On Ovchinnikov's score see: Tatiana K. Egorova, *Soviet Film Music: An Historical Survey*, trans. Tatiana A. Ganf and Natalia A. Egunova (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic, 1997), pp. 195–202.
28 Maia Turovskaia, *7½ ili fil'my Andreia Tarkovskogo* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1991), pp. 47–8.
29 Turovskaia, *7½*, p. 74.
30 Michel Ciment, with Luda Schnitzer and Jean Schnitzer, 'L'artiste dans l'ancienne Russe et dans l'URSS nouvelle (Entretien avec Andrei Tarkovsky)', *Positif*, October 1969 (109), pp. 1–13: 4.
31 D. S. Likhachev, *Kul'tura Rusi vremeni Andreia Rubleva i Epifaniia Premudrogo* (Moscow, 1962), pp. 49, 58. Kirill's alleged quotation from Kostenecki has no analogue in the latter's work and reflects Likhachev's interpretation of his ideas. The quotation attributed to Epiphanius can be found in: 'Zhitie Sergiia Radonezhskogo', *Pamiatniki literatury drevnei Rusi: XIV–seredina XV veka* (Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia literatura, 1981), p. 290.
32 Tarkovsky, *Sculpting in Time*, p. 78.
33 Ciment *et al*., 'L'artiste dans l'ancienne Russe', p. 9.
34 See A. Nikol'skii, 'Net dyma bez ognia', *Krokodil* no. 27, 1965.
35 Turovskaia, *7½*, pp. 74–5; Nikulin, 'Strasti po Andreiu', p. 551.
36 Interview with Aleksandr Misharin on the RusCiCo / Artificial Eye DVD of *The Mirror*.
37 Nikolai Glazkov, *Piataia kniga* (Moscow: Sovetskii pisatel', 1966), pp. 39–40; 'The Flying Peasant' is on pp. 35–8; other poems on the filming follow on pp. 44–9, 57–9. See also his poem 'On the Fifteenth Century' (dedicated to Tarkovsky (*Dorogi i zvezdy: stikhi* [Moscow, 1966] 10).
38 Lidiia Novi, 'Ia vspominaiu rabotu na "Rubleve"', *O Tarkovskom*, p. 422.
39 Nikulin, 'Strasti po Andreiu', p. 553.
40 Oleg Belyavsky, 'The Filming of *Andrei Rublyov*', *Soviet Film* no. 5 1966, pp. 18–19, 21 (citation from p. 18).
41 Philip Strick, 'Releasing the Balloon, Raising the Bell', *Monthly Film Bulletin* vol. 58, February 1991, pp. 34–7: 35.
42 Nikolai Grin'ko, 'He Could Not Forgive Insincerity', trans. Paula Garb, *About Andrei Tarkovsky*, pp. 89–95: 94; cf. *O Tarkovskom*, p. 69.
43 Rolan Bykov, 'Filosof kinematografa', *O Tarkovskom*, p. 117; cf. Rolan Bykov, 'A Cinematography Philosopher', trans. Paula Garb, *About Andrei Tarkovsky*, p. 154.
44 Andrei Mikhalkov-Konchalovskii, *Parabola zamysla* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1977), pp. 27–8; Alexander Misharin, 'On Blood, Culture and History', trans. Paula Garb, *About Andrei Tarkovsky*, pp. 51–61: 52; cf. *O Tarkovskom*, p. 38. See also Iusov's recollection of Konchalovsky's participation in Turovskaia, *7½*, p. 48.
45 Konchalovskii, *Nizkie istiny*, p. 124; cf. Konchalovskii, *Vozvyshaiushchii obman* (Moscow: Sovershenno sekretno, 1999) p. 84; Konchalovskii, *Parabola zamysla*, pp. 28, 150.
46 Konchalovskii, *Nizkie istiny*, p. 125.
47 Konchalovskii, *Vozvyshaiushchii obman*, p. 84.
48 Andrei Tarkovskii, Andrei Konchalovskii, 'Andrei Rublev', *Iskusstvo kino* no. 4, 1964, pp. 139–200: 153; cf. *Andrei Rublev*, pp. 26–8.
49 Andrei Tarkovsky, *Collected Screenplays*, trans. William Powell and Natasha Synessios (London: Faber and Faber, 1999), p. 302.
50 Konchalovskii, *Nizkie istiny*, p. 128.
51 M. S. Chugunova in Turovskaia, *7½*, p. 116.
52 I. Soldatov, '. . . I zapylala korova', *Vecherniaia Moskva*, 24 December 1966, p. 3.
53 *Andrei Tarkovskii*, ed. Volkova, p. 371; Cf. Nikolai Burlyaev, 'One out of All – For All – Against All', trans. Paula Garb, *About Andrei Tarkovsky*, pp. 70–88.
54 Andrei Tarkovsky, *Time within Time*, p. 46.
55 Ciment *et al*., 'L'artiste dans l'ancienne Russe', p. 12. Tarkovsky lists the different edits in a different order than most other memoirists.
56 Turovskaia, *7½*, p. 68.

57 Eduard Artemyev, 'About Tarkovsky', trans. Nancy Lasse, *About Andrei Tarkovsky*, pp. 197–209: 199.
58 Andrei Tarkovsky, *Time within Time*, p. 74.
59 Valeriia Tomilina, 'Andrei Rublev – novaia zhizn' na ekrane', http://www.mosfilm.ru, accessed 8 March 2004. See discussion on nostalghia. com.
60 Solzhenitsyn, 'Fil'm o Rubleve', p. 164.
61 *Vstrechi s proshlym* VIII (Moscow: Russkaia kniga, 1996), p. 217.
62 Andrei Tarkovskii, 'Iskat' i dobivat'sia', p. 9.
63 Tarkovskii, 'Iskat' i dobivat'sia', pp. 9, 20.
64 Aleksandr Lipkov, 'Strasti po Andreiu', p. 77.
65 Turovskaya, *Tarkovsky*, p. 42.
66 On the use of three actresses see Turovskaia, *7½*, p. 76; L. Novi, 'Ia vspominaiu rabotu na "Rubleve"', *O Tarkovskom*, p. 420.
67 Tarkovsky, *Andrei Rublev*, p. 106; Tarkovskii and Konchalovskii, 'Andrei Rublev', *Iskusstvo kino* no. 4 1964, p. 188.
68 Vida T. Johnson and Graham Petrie, *The Films of Andrei Tarkovsky: A Visual Fugue* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994) p. 270.
69 M. S. Chugunova in Turovskaia, *7½*, p. 116
70 Konchalovskii, *Nizkie istiny*, p. 125.
71 Suggested by Elizabeth Medvedovsky.
72 Tarkovsky, 'Andrei Rublyov and the XXth Century', p. 13.
73 Tarkovskii and Konchalovskii, 'Andrei Rublev', *Iskusstvo kino* no. 5 1964, p. 128.
74 Tarkovsky, *Andrei Rublev*, pp. 136–7.
75 Note the similar way that the central persona in Tarkovsky's *The Mirror* imagines his mother in youth as identical to his present wife. In fact, Tarkovsky originally planned to cast his first wife Irma Rausch (the holy fool in *Andrei Rublev*) as the mother character in *The Mirror*.
76 Tarkovsky, *Sculpting in Time*, p. 63.
77 Andrei Tarkovskii, 'Slovo ob Apokalipsise', *Iskusstvo kino* no. 2 1989, pp. 95–100: 97.
78 Tarkovsky, *Time within Time*, p. 151.
79 Tarkovsky was fascinated by the Western and even dreamed of making one; Tarkovsky, *Time within Time*, p. 154.
80 Yuri Tsivian, *Early Cinema in Russia and Its Cultural Reception*, trans. Alan Bodger, with a foreword by Tom Gunning, ed. Richard Taylor (London and New York, 1994); *Ibid.*, 'Censure Bans on Religious Subjects in Russian Films', in R. Cosandey, A. Gaudreault and T. Gunning, (eds), *An Invention of the Devil? Religion and Early Cinema* (Sainte-Foy, Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1992), pp. 71–80.
81 Turovskaia, *7½*, p. 47.
82 Tarkovsky, *Sculpting in Time*, p. 50.
83 Antoine de Baecque, *Andrei Tarkovski* (Paris: Éditions de l'Étoile/Cahiers du cinéma, 1989), p. 98.
84 Tarkovsky, 'Andrei Rublyov and the XX Century', p. 12; cf. Jeanne Vronskaya, *Young Soviet Film Makers*, with a foreword by John Gillett (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1972) p. 35.
85 Tarkovskii and Konchalovskii, 'Andrei Rublev', *Iskusstvo kino* no. 5 1964, p. 142; cf. Tarkovsky, *Andrei Rublev*, p. 150.
86 Pavel Florensky, *The Pillar and Foundation of the Truth*, trans. Boris Jakim (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), p. 45. See also Jakim's essay 'Leaps from the Scientific to the Theological in *The Pillar and Ground of the Truth*', in *Pavel Florenskij – Tradition und Moderne* (eds), Michael Hagemeister *et al.* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2001), pp. 97–106.
87 Pavel Florensky, *Iconostasis*, trans. Donald Sheehan and Olga Andrejev (Crestwood, NY: SVS Press, 2000) 68.
88 Pavel Florenskii, *Stat'i i issledovaniia po istorii i filosofii iskusstva i arkheologii* (Moscow, 2000), p. 223. Tarkovsky refers to Florensky's aesthetics of the icon in *Sculpting in Time*, p. 82. I have not been able to determine when this part of the text was written, but it is possible that Tarkovsky knew Florensky's work, whether directly or indirectly, before beginning work on the film.
89 Tarkovsky, 'Slovo ob Apokalipsise', p. 99.
90 Tarkovsky, 'Slovo ob Apokalipsise', p. 100.

CREDITS

Andrei Rublev
(The Passion According to Andrei)

USSR
1966/1969

Director
Andrei Tarkovsky
Screenplay
Andron
Mikhalkov-Konchalovsky
Andrei Tarkovsky
Director of Photography
Vadim Iusov
Editors
Liudmila Feiginova,
T. Egorycheva,
O. Shevkunenko
Set Design
Evgenii Cherniaev,
with Ippolit Novoderezhkin,
S. Voronkov
Music
Viacheslav Ovchinnikov
Production Company
Mosfilm Studios
Creative Union of Writers and Cinema Workers
Production Manager
Tamara Ogorodnikova
Assistant Director
Igor' Petrov
Director Intern
Bagrat Oganesian
Director's Assistants
A. Macheret, M. Volovich,
A. Nikolaev
Script Supervisors
N. Beliaeva, L. Lazarev
Cameraman
V. Sevost'ianov
Assistant Cameramen
A. Andrianov, R. Ruvinov,
P. Sudilin
Special Effects Cameraman
V. Sevost'ianov
Special Effects Artist
P. Safonov
Set Decorator
E. Korablev
Assistant Set Decorators
T. Isaeva, L. Pertsev
Costume Designers
Lidiia Novi,
M. Abar-Baranovskaia
Make-up
V. Rudina, M. Aliautdinov,
S. Barsukov
Music Performed by
State Cinema Orchestra and The Full Chorus of All-Union Radio, conducted by Viacheslav Ovchinnikov
Sound
I. Zelentsova
Consultants
Dr V. Pashuto, Savelii Iamshchikov, M. Mertsalova

Cast
Anatolii Solonitsyn
Andrei Rublev
Ivan Lapikov
Kirill
Nikolai Grin'ko
Daniil the Monk
Nikolai Sergeev
Theophanes the Greek
Irma Rausch
the holy fool
Nikolai Burliaev
Boriska
Iurii Nazarov
the grand prince/
the lesser prince
Rolan Bykov
the jester
Nikolai Grabbe
Stepan
Mikhail Kononov
Foma
Stepan Krylov
head bellfounder
B. Beishenaliev
Tatar Khan
Nikolai Glazkov
Efim
I. Miroshnichenko
Mary Magdalene
Iurii Nikulin
Patrikei
Tamara Ogorodnikova
Mother of Jesus
D. Orlovsky
old stonemason
N. Snegina
Marfa
B. Matysik
A. Obukhov
Volodia Titov
K. Aleksandrov
S. Bardin
I. Bykov
G. Borisovsky
V. Vasil'ev
Z. Vorkul'
V. Volkov
A. Titov
N. Kutuzov
V. Gus'kov
I. Donskoi
I. Ryskulov
N. Radolitskaia
G. Pokorsky
G. Sachevko
A. Umuraliev
Slava Tsarev

205 minutes (original length)
186 minutes (USSR release length)
145 minutes 45 seconds/13,100 feet (UK original 1973 release; cut by BBFC)

Black and White/Part Colour
2.35:1 [Sovscope]

Prizes:
FIPRESCI International Critics Prize, Cannes, 1969
Prix Moussinac 1969

Credits checked by Markku Salmi

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PUBLISHED VERSIONS OF THE SCREENPLAY

Tarkovskii, Andrei, and Andrei Konchalovskii, 'Andrei Rublev', *Iskusstvo kino* no. 4 (1964) pp. 139–200; no. 5, 1964, pp. 126–58.

Tarkovskii, Andrei, *Andrei Rublëv*, trans. Kitty Hunter-Blair, with an introduction by Philip Strick (London: Faber and Faber, 1991).

BOOKS BY ANDREI TARKOVSKY

Andrei Tarkovskii: Arkhivy. Dokumenty. Vospominaniia, ed. P. D. Volkova (Moscow: 'Podkova', Eksmo Press, 2002).

Collected Screenplays, trans. William Powell and Natasha Synessios (London: Faber and Faber, 1999).

Sculpting in Time, trans. Kitty Hunter-Blair (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986).

Time within Time: The Diaries 1970–1986, trans. Kitty Hunter-Blair (London: Faber and Faber, 1994).

Uroki rezhissury: Uchebnoe posobie (Moscow: Vserossiiskii institut perepodgotovki i povysheniia kvalifikatsii rabotnikov kinematografii Komiteta Rossiiskoi Federatsii po kinematografii, 1993).

ARTICLES AND INTERVIEWS BY ANDREI TARKOVSKY ON *ANDREI RUBLEV*

'Andrei Rublyov and the XX Century', *Soviet Film* no. 8, 1965, pp. 10–13.

Belyavsky, Oleg, 'The Filming of *Andrei Rublyov*', *Soviet Film* no. 5, 1966, pp. 18–21.

Ciment, Michel, with Luda Schnitzer and Jean Schnitzer, 'L'artiste dans l'ancienne Russe et dans l'URSS nouvelle (Entretien avec Andrei Tarkovsky),' *Positif*, October 1969 (109), pp. 1–13.

Lipkov, Aleksandr, 'Strasti po Andreiu', *Literaturnoe obozrenie* no. 9, 1988, pp. 74–80.

[Tarkovskii, Andrei], 'Andrei Tarkovsky on the film "Roublev"', *Young Cinema & Theatre/Jeune Cinema & Theatre* no. 8/1965, pp. 16-23.

Tarkovskii, Andrei, 'Eto ochen' vazhno', *Literaturnaia gazeta*, 20 September 1962, p. 1.

Tarkovskii, Andrei, 'Iskat' i dobivat'sia', *Sovetskii ekran* no. 17, 1962, pp. 9, 20. Cf. Gideon Bachman, 'Begegnung mit Andrej Tarkowskij,' *Filmkritik* no. 12, 1962, pp. 548–52.

Tarkovskii, Andrei, 'Spor o geroiakh', *Komsomol'skaia pravda*, 13 September 1962, p. 4.

Tarkovskii, Andrei, 'Zapechatlennoe vremia', *Voprosy kinoiskusstva* no. 10, 1967, pp. 79–102.

BOOKS AND ESSAYS WITH SIGNIFICANT SECTIONS ON *ANDREI RUBLEV*

Anninskii, Lev, *Shestidesiatniki i my: Kinematograf stavshii i ne stavshii istoriei* (Moscow: Soiuz kinematografistov SSSR, 1991), pp. 190–201.

De Baecque, Antoine, *Andrei Tarkovski* (Paris: Éditions de l'Étoile/Cahiers du cinéma, 1989).

Dalle Vacche, Angela, 'Andrei Tarkovsky's *Andrei Rublev*: Cinema as the Restoration of Icon Painting', *Cinema and Painting: How Art Is Used in Film* (London: Athlone, 1996), pp. 135–60.

Egorova, Tatiana K. *Soviet Film Music: An Historical Survey*, trans. Tatiana A. Ganf and Natalia A. Egunova (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic, 1997).

Evlampiev, Igor', *Khudozhestvennaia filosofiia Andreia Tarkovskogo* (St Petersburg: Aleteiia, 1991).

Fomin, V., 'Andrei Rublev', *Polka* no. 2, *Zapreshchennye fil'my: Dokumenty. Svidetel'stva. Kommentarii* (Moscow: NII kinoiskusstva, 1993), pp. 7–62.

Green, Peter, *Andrei Tarkovsky: The Winding Quest* (London: Macmillan, 1993).

Iusov, Vadim ['Iz tvorcheskogo opyta'], *Chto takoe iazyk kino* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1989), pp. 235–9.

Johnson, Vida T. and Graham Petrie, *The Films of Andrei Tarkovsky: A Visual Fugue* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994).

Konchalovskii [Mikhalkov-Konchalovskii], Andrei, *Nizkie istiny* (Moscow: Sovershenno sekretno, 1998).

Konchalovskii [Mikhalkov-Konchalovskii], Andrei, *Parobola zamysla* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1977).

Konchalovskii, Andrei, *Vozvyshaiushchii obman* (Moscow: Sovershenno sekretno, 1999).

Le Fanu, Mark, *The Cinema of Andrei Tarkovsky* (London: BFI, 1987).

Leong, Albert, 'Socialist Realism in Tarkovsky's *Andrei Rublev*', *Studies in Comparative Communism* vol. 17, nos 3–4, Fall–Winter 1984, pp. 227–33.

Nekhoroshev, L., '"Andrei Rublev": Spasenie dushi', *Mir i fil'my Andreia Tarkovskogo: Razmyshleniia, issledovaniia, vospominaniia, pis'ma* (Moscow: Iskusstovo, 1991), pp. 37–64.

Nikulin, Iurii, 'Strasti po Andreiu', *Pochti ser'ezno ...* (Moscow: Terra, 1994), pp. 550–2.

Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr. 'Fil'm o Rubleve' *Publitsistika. V trekh tomakh* (Yaroslavl: Verkhniaia Volga, 1997), vol. 3, pp. 157–67.

Strick, Philip, 'Releasing the Balloon, Raising the Bell', *Monthly Film Bulletin*, vol. 58, February 1991, pp. 34–7.

Tarkovskaia, M. A. (ed.), *O Tarkovskom* (Moscow: Dedalus, 2002).

Tarkovskaya, Marina, *About Andrei Tarkovsky* (Moscow: Progress, 1990).

Turovskaia, Maia, *7½ili fil'my Andreia Tarkovskogo* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1991)

Turovskaya, Maya, *Tarkovsky: Cinema as Poetry*, trans. Natasha Ward, ed. and with an introduction by Ian Christie (London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1989).

Vinokurova, Tat'iana, 'Khozhdenie po mukam "Andreia Rubleva"', *Iskusstvo kino* no. 10, 1989, pp. 63–76.

Vronskaya, Jeanne, *Young Soviet Film Makers*, with a foreword by John Gillett (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1972).

Youngblood, Denise J., '*Andrei Rublev*: The Medieval Epic as Post-Utopian History', *The Persistence of History: Cinema, Television, and the Modern Event*, in Vivian Sobchak (ed.), (New York and London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 127–43.

ESSAYS ON RELATED TOPICS IN TARKOVSKY

Beasley-Murray, Jon, 'Whatever Happened to Neorealism? – Bazin, Deleuze, and Tarkovsky's Long Take', *Iris*, vol. 23, Spring 1997, pp. 37–52.

Lawton, Anna, 'Art and Religion in the Films of Andrei Tarkovskii', in William C. Brumfield and Milos M. Velimirovic (eds), *Christianity and the Arts in Russia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 151–64.

Macgillivray, James, 'Andrei Tarkovsky's *Madonna del Parto*', *Revue canadienne d'études cinématographiques* vol. 11 no. 2, Fall 2002, pp. 82–99.

Zizek, Slavoj, 'The Thing from Inner Space', in *Sexuation*, Renata Salecl (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2000), pp. 216–59.

ON PAVEL FLORENSKY, THE ICON AND ANDREI RUBLEV

Florensky, Pavel, *Beyond Vision: Essays on the Perception of Art*, trans. Wendy Salmond (London: Reaktion, 2003).

Florensky, Pavel, *Iconostasis*, trans. Donald Sheehan and Olga Andrejev (Crestwood: SVS Press, 1996).

Florensky, Pavel, *The Trinity-St. Sergius Lavra and Russia*, trans. Robert Bird (New Haven, CT: The Variable Press, 1994).

Lazarev, V. N., *Andrei Rublev i ego shkola* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1966).

Ouspensky, Leonid, *Theology of the Icon*, trans. Anthony Gythiel, 2 vols (Crestwood, NY: SVS Press, 1992).

Pribytkov, V., *Andrei Rublev* (Moscow: Molodiaia gvardiia, 1960)

WEBSITE

http://www.nostalghia.com